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The Illinois Whigs before 1846

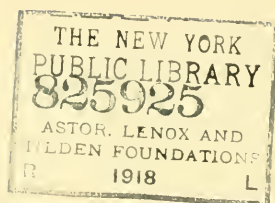
BY

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PREFACE.

This study is intended to be but preliminary to a history of the Illinois Whigs, which will consider not only the origin and development, but also the decline and decay of that party. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to defer the slavery agitations of the thirties and early forties to the more complete discussion.

Occasionally the history of the Whig party, and even the political narrative itself, gives way to discussions of a purely social or economic nature. Such a procedure is the result of a conscious attempt to examine the social and economic environment of a minority party within a limited geographical area, to make accessible hitherto unpublished information on the political affiliations of hundreds of Illinois office holders, and to show some of the relations between the politics of the state and the politics of the nation.

To the county and state officers who have opened their respective archives and rendered whatever aid they could to facilitate research, I wish at this point to express my thanks; likewise to the officials and attendants of the Chicago Historical Library, of the Indiana State Library, of the Illinois State Historical Library, of the Mercantile Library, St. Louis, and of the Library of the University of Illinois. I am particularly indebted to Professor Solon J. Buck of the University of Minnesota, for advice during the early stages of investigation; to Professor Evarts B. Greene for kind and helpful criticisms, and above all to Professor Clarence W. Alvord whose advice and oversight have made the study possible.

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CHAPTER I.

GENESIS OF THE ILLINOIS WHIGS.

1809-1834.

Throughout the territorial period, and even before, political factions and cliques existed in Illinois. Local rather than national issues determined the lines of cleavage; and the location of these lines usually depended on personal adherences. Prior to about 1817, the bone of contention was the judiciary; one party supported, another opposed, the system as it existed. Just before the government was changed from territorial to state, the slave question began to assume large proportions. Without any known reason the party that favored the judiciary favored the extension of slavery, and the anti-judiciary party became anti-extensionist. The struggle over the admission of Missouri, and the subsequent contest over the proposition to legalize slavery in Illinois, served to make the line of party cleavage more distinct and to crystalize parties and factions. These parties and factions, with variations, persisted down to the time when the Whig party emerged in 1834.¹

Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois Territory from 1809 to 1818, was the leader of one of the territorial factions, and he continued until the time of his death in 1833 to be one of the prominent figures in Illinois politics. The leader of the faction opposed to Edwards was Shadrach Bond, who was the first territorial delegate in Congress from Illinois.

Edwards had two able lieutenants in Nathaniel Pope and Daniel Pope Cook, both of whom held appointive offices in the territory. Pope was the first territorial secretary, holding that position until 1816, when he was elected delegate to Congress. Cook came to the territory in 1815, became auditor of public accounts the next year, served as clerk of the territorial house of representatives from 1816 to 1818, and in the latter year was

¹The study of Illinois politics from 1809 to about 1822 has been unsatisfactory. As far as the writer has been able to ascertain there is little contemporary evidence on the subject. See, however, Washburne, *Edwards*, 110, 149, 150, 154, 159, 160; Churchill-Lippincott, (*Third Paper*); *Western Intelligencer*, August 21, 1816; *Edwardsville Spectator*, December 4, 1821; W. H. Brown in *Chicago American*, December 22, 1840.

elevated to the judiciary. Associated with Edwards, Pope and Cook were Thomas C. Browne and Pierre Menard, two men whose abilities, although of a different order, were only a little less than those of the leaders. Both served in the territorial legislature, the latter being president of the council during its entire existence from 1812 to 1818. Among the close political friends of Bond were Elias Kent Kane, John McLean, Jesse Burgess Thomas, and Michael Jones. Kane and Thomas were territorial judges and kept up a continuous controversy with Edwards over the functions of the judiciary,² McLean was a political free lance, while Jones appears to have opposed Edwards on personal grounds. Of the five prominent members of the Edwards faction, Pope, Cook and Browne were natives of Kentucky, Menard of Canada, and Edwards of Maryland.³ The nativity of the members of the other faction differed somewhat: Bond and Thomas were born in Maryland; Kane in New York; McLean in North Carolina; and Jones in Pennsylvania. With one or two exceptions all the ten leaders were lawyers, and at least three had had college training: Kane at Yale, Edwards at Dickinson, and Pope at Transylvania.

Around Edwards were grouped his appointees, their friends, and all those who felt that adherence to him would further their own interests; opposed were disappointed office-seekers, their friends, those hostile to authority from a centralized source, and finally that frontier element which confounded liberty with license, and hence hated legal restraint. Between the political poles stood the great majority of the people. The division among this great majority was transitory, depending very much upon personal predilections and temporary issues.

²*Western Intelligencer*, August 21, 1816.

³To avoid being tedious, references in this work to such statements as nativity are omitted unless controverted and necessary for proof. Besides consulting the standard biographies and other works on Illinois history, members of the family have been appealed to, and on some occasions the inscriptions on grave stones have been used. Newspaper advertisements, and a consultation of circuit court records in the county archives may be depended upon for a determination of profession in many cases. Likewise in cases where there are disputes as to the spelling of proper names, the spelling found in contemporary public documents has been followed. E.g. T. C. Browne's name is usually spelled "Brown", but examination of the Eddy MSS. and court records shows that he spelled it with an "e".

The intensity of the political strife between the factions usually depended on the personal feelings of the leaders of one faction toward those of the other, and not upon vital issues; and a cessation of hostilities oftentimes merely indicated a friendly understanding among the leaders. At the beginning of Edwards' administration as territorial governor, he and Bond are said to have been personal and political friends, and as early as June, 1813, the latter wrote to Edwards saying, "I agree with you that each one shall enjoy his own opinion, and rest assured that I shall act with candor and sincerity toward you."⁴ Early in 1814, Bond complained that certain people in the territory were endeavoring to cause a rupture of good relationship between him and the governor.⁵ Bond's resignation from Congress in October, 1814, to accept the position of receiver of public moneys would indicate at least that Edwards' superiors at Washington were not particularly hostile to him at that time.

During the next few years there appears to have been a lull in political activities, but in 1818 Bond announced his candidacy for territorial delegate to Congress in opposition to that of his old political rival, Nathaniel Pope. Before the end of the summer, however, Bond withdrew as a candidate for delegate, and entered the race for governor.⁶ For this office he had no opposition.⁷ Menard, one of four candidates, was elected lieutenant-governor.⁸ It is interesting to see how the other offices were distributed; Bond appointed Kane to be secretary of state; the General Assembly elected Edwards and Thomas United States senators, Cook attorney general, Browne and Phillips State Supreme judges; Pope was made a federal judge, McLean was elected to Congress; while Jones was at the time in the state senate.

Thus all the leaders of the old territorial factions received office. It is too much to say in the absence of positive proof, that there was any sort of a deal whereby the offices were distributed between the old factions, but when the unanimity with which the various officers were chosen is considered, one is led

⁴Washburne, *Edwards*, 101.

⁵Washburne, *Edwards*, 110.

⁶*Illinois Intelligencer*, June 17, August 19, 1818.

⁷*Ibid.* October 7, 1818.

⁸The candidates for lieutenant-governor were: Edward N. Cullom, Joseph Kitchell, P. Menard, and William L. Reynolds.—*Illinois Intelligencer*, September 2, 1818.

to believe that at least a temporary truce had been declared. Such a conclusion is the more valid in the light of subsequent events. The elections were scarcely over before the struggle reopened with increased vigor.

The only real contest during the first year of statehood was for the sole seat in the lower house of Congress. The two candidates were John McLean and Daniel Pope Cook. The former was a resident of Gallatin, the latter of Randolph County. Although the results of the election were determined largely on the basis of the personal popularity of the candidates, of their recognized adherence to the old parties, and of the geographical location of their homes, the contest was characterized by the introduction of a real national issue, the influence of which must have affected the campaign. The Missouri question had by this time assumed an importance that justified its discussion from the stump. Cook took what may for convenience be called an anti-slavery attitude, in which in a general way he opposed the extension of the slavery system.⁹ McLean took the opposite view, laying stress not only upon the right of the state to regulate its domestic affairs independent of the national government, but also upon the desirability and value of slaves in any community where they could be worked with profit. Cook was beaten by the slender majority of fourteen, but that campaign laid the foundation for a successful political career beginning the next year.

Scarcely less important politically was Edwards' re-election to the Senate, in 1819, and Bond's hesitancy in coming out openly for or against him. In drawing for terms of service in the United States Senate, Edwards had drawn the shorter, which ended March 4, 1819, scarcely four months after his election. As soon as this fact became known, opposition to his re-election arose, and his enemies united upon Michael Jones, who was an adherent of the old anti-Edwards faction. Feeling that the Edwards party was the stronger, a scheme was put on foot to eliminate Edwards from the race by dividing the state into two senatorial districts so arranged that Edwards and Thomas would reside in the same district.¹⁰ The friends of the

⁹*Illinois Intelligencer*, July 29, 1818. "I shall in this county [Pope] get a large vote, about one-half, some say more. I made a speech and excited warm opposition from *slavemen*, but still warmer support from *freemen*." Cook to Edwards, August 3, 1818. Washburne, *Edwards*, 145.

¹⁰Washburne, *Edwards*, 149.

retiring senator were able to defeat the measure in the house; and a little later Edwards was re-elected for a term of six years, receiving twenty-three votes to sixteen for Jones.¹¹ During this contest Edwards remained at his post at Washington. He seems to have believed that Bond was supporting him, but Cook, who was at Kaskaskia watching affairs, knew better and so informed his chief.¹² The truth seems to be that Bond was influenced by his old political allies to abandon Edwards and assist in the rehabilitation of the territorial faction formerly opposed to Edwards.¹³ Bond wavered, however, in his decision as to whether or not he would support Edwards, and by so doing he allowed the leadership of the anti-Edwards party to pass into the hands of McLean, Kane, and Thomas.¹⁴ Associated with them were William Kinney, Dr. Alexander, Willis Hargrave, Adolphus Hubbard, Robert K. McLaughlin and Michael Jones, all of whom afterwards played important rôles in the political history of the state.¹⁵

The congressional campaign of 1819 re-opened the slavery question and started anew the discussion of Missouri's admission into the union. As in 1818 the candidates were Cook and McLean. Since the campaign of the year before, the Missouri question had become more acute; and in Illinois the people followed with intense interest the congressional debates and newspaper editorials on the admission of Missouri. They took this attitude toward the question, not because they had any particular interest in the well-being of their neighbors across the river, but rather because their sympathies for and against the admission of Missouri with or without slavery, reflected their convictions on the extension of slavery, on discrimination against free negroes, and on the sovereign rights of a state. As in 1818, McLean took a pro-slavery position, and Cook the opposite.

¹¹*Senate Journal*, 1818-19, p. 80.

¹²Washburne, *Edwards*, 150.

¹³Washburne, *Edwards*, 153.

¹⁴Kane was apparently the only one of the three to remain in opposition to Edwards. McLean and Edwards seem to have come to some sort of an understanding, for in 1828 they are in confidential communication. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 343, *passim*. In 1826, Thomas is said to have supported Cook and been friendly to Edwards. See *Edwardsville Spectator*, September 15, 1826. As late as 1830 Kane and Edwards were carrying on a bitter newspaper war. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 496, *passim*.

¹⁵Washburne, *Edwards*, 149, 150, 154, 159, 160.

After an exciting campaign in which the slavery question played a prominent part, Cook was elected by a substantial majority. Cook was certainly not an abolitionist as the term came to be used, nor does the result of the election show conclusively the feeling of the people on the extension of slavery; yet in the light of the well known attitude of each candidate on the question of slavery, it may safely be assumed that of the voters who put measures before men, those opposed to slavery voted for Cook, while the conscious friends of the system supported McLean.

The intrusion of the slavery question into the congressional elections of 1818 and 1819 served to crystalize parties. Cook found in the ranks of the opposition not only a great many of the members of the anti-Edwards party, but also those who were inclined to resent any kind of interference with the so-called Black laws in the states, and the institution of slavery in both states and territories. On the other hand, his frank denunciation of "slavemen" brought to his support all classes to which slavery in any form was repugnant. Thus the old territorial parties were being gradually reshaped. Cook's warm opposition to slavery alienated from him the ultra pro-slavery members of the Edwards party, while their places were taken in part by anti-slavery members of the anti-Edwards forces. Against Cook are found practically all the leaders favoring a call for a constitutional convention three years later, but the men that were to make themselves famous for their sturdy opposition to the introduction of slavery in 1822-4, had not yet entered the political lists; Birkbeck, Warren, Lippincott, and Peck were at this time wielding an effective influence against slavery, but it was from the pulpit or editorial office, not from the stump.¹⁶

Although there is nothing to indicate any opposition to the re-election of President Monroe in 1820, there appear to have been in each of the three districts, electoral tickets representing the two parties or factions.¹⁷ It would appear that each

¹⁶This is illustrated by a contemporary account. "The subject of slavery was discussed in the court yards, sometimes in the pulpits, and at all gatherings of the people, as well as in the presses, and on the stump throughout the state." Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 229.

¹⁷Two candidates in each district receiving the largest vote were:

1st., James B. Moore—259; William Kinney—191.

2nd., Michael Jones—441; Peter Kimmell—90.

3rd., Adolphus F. Hubbard—238; Charles Campbell—47.

MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

faction had a desire to honor one of its members in each district by choosing him to be presidential elector, but to what extent the factions divided over the issue it is impossible to say.¹⁸ The election resulted in the choice of two electors of the anti-Edwards party, Adolphus F. Hubbard and Michael Jones, and one of the Edwards party, James B. Moore.

At the preceding August election the anti-Edwards party had supported Kane for Congress, while Cook sought re-election.¹⁹ Cook exhibited his record in Congress as a basis for his candidacy, and at the same time declared his intention to vote for the Missouri Compromise. The result of the election surprised even the most optimistic Edwards men; Kane was badly beaten, carrying but four counties.²⁰

When the troublesome question of admitting Missouri into the Union had been settled, it was found, much to the chagrin of Cook's pro-slavery supporters, that he had voted against the Compromise. His political enemies planned immediately to take advantage of what seemed to them to be a very unpopular act. Accordingly, in 1822, they supported McLean in an effort to beat Cook, and incidentally to lessen the power of Senator Edwards, who was looming large in national politics. In spite of the defection of many of his pro-slavery supporters of two years before, Cook was re-elected.²¹ In the meantime the opponents of the Missouri Compromise introduced into the General Assembly a resolution calling upon Edwards and Thomas to resign their seats in the United States Senate, because, as the

¹⁸In the presidential election held November 6, 1820, the electors were chosen by districts designated by the governor on September 4, 1820. See *Laws of Illinois*, 1819, p. 101.

¹⁹Senator Thomas was declared to be the head of the anti-Edwards party in 1820. See *Edwardsville Spectator*, August 29, 1820. It was during this campaign that an acrimonious press dispute took place between Kane and Edwards. The former charged that the latter inspired the editorial writings of Warren. To this charge Edwards replied with denials. Warren took up the controversy and denied that Edwards owned the *Edwardsville Spectator*. See issues of the *Spectator*, July 25, August 29, 1820.

²⁰Result of election:

Cook, 3568; Kane, 2242; scattering, 7. The four counties carried by Kane were Wayne, Alexander, Crawford, Edwards. MSS. Election Returns. (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

²¹*Ibid.*

resolution stated, their votes "against the restriction of slavery in Missouri" did not represent the known opinion of the "people of the state of Illinois."²² The resolution was voted down by a small majority, but its introduction and support indicate at least that a strong element in the state was prepared to refuse to follow the leadership of men who held materially different opinions. Edwards came in for greater criticism at the hands of the anti-slavery people than did Thomas, for he was known to have supported Cook against the pro-slavery crowd, and it was naturally a great disappointment to the anti-slavery men to see him favoring slavery.²³

The continued agitation of the Missouri Question impressed the people with the growing importance of slavery as a political issue. The "friends of freedom" were repeatedly warned by Hooper Warren, editor of the *Edwardsville Spectator*, that plans were under way to repeal the anti-slavery clause of the state constitution.²⁴ A similar warning was given by the *Missouri Republican*.²⁵ The people of northern Illinois appear to have regarded the matter much more seriously than did their neighbors in the southern counties. The former section opposed very generally the system wherever found, while the latter did not become aroused until slavery threatened to encroach upon its own limits.

In the midst of the slavery controversy, occurred the gubernatorial campaign and election of 1822. Four candidates offered themselves for governor; they were Edward Coles of Madison

²²*House Journal*, 1820-21, pp. 134-5.

²³In a written communication the following charges were made against Edwards:

1. Supporting Missouri Compromise.
2. Declaring in public that he approved of slavery.
3. Knowing that a majority of people of Illinois opposed slavery.
4. Holding twenty-two negroes in Missouri.

Edwardsville Spectator, July 4, 1820.

²⁴Warren specified his charge under four heads: (1) Kane to be brought out by the pro-slavery crowd for governor in 1822; (2) Hall had bought Kimmell's interest in the Shawneetown paper; (3) a newspaper favorable to slavery was to be established in Edwardsville by Mr. Street; (4) *Illinois Intelligencer* had been persuaded to remain neutral. See *Edwardsville Spectator*, July 11, 1820.

²⁵Issue of January 2, 1823.

County, Joseph Phillips of Randolph, James B. Moore of Monroe, and Thomas C. Browne of Gallatin.²⁶

Coles was an outsider even in a country where precedent had little influence. The very fact that he had come to Illinois only a few years before he announced himself for governor was against him. Moreover he had come in the rôle of a federal office holder. Coles was the first to announce his candidacy, and the fact was not disguised that he stood forth as an opponent of slavery. The saving grace of his candidacy was that he held no connection with either of the old parties and hence had the enmity of neither. Besides he was in a position to build up a following among the newer settlers in the northern counties, who knew little and cared less for the squabbles of the old factions. A correspondent in speaking of his candidacy said: "He may not have received any pledge of support from either of the old parties, which have so long divided this state," while another pointed out that such a circumstance was greatly in his favor.²⁷ Although the columns of the *Edwardsville Spectator* were thrown open to Coles and his friends, its editor, Hooper Warren,

²⁶The idea has generally been accepted that Coles and Moore polled the anti-slavery vote, while Phillips and Browne were the out and out slavery candidates. Upon this belief as an hypothesis the natural conclusion has been drawn that a great majority of the people in Illinois in the year 1822 was favorable to slavery for the simple reason that Coles' and Moore's combined vote was less by some 2000 than the combined vote of Phillips and Browne. In the light of such a supposition and the large majority polled against slavery in 1824, the inference has been made that the pro-slavery strength of 1822 was more than offset by the anti-slavery immigration that came into the northern counties during those two years. It cannot be denied that the northern counties did receive a considerable anti-slavery immigration between 1822 and 1824, nor can it be reasonably doubted that Coles' vote was largely anti-slavery; the error arises in supposing that the vote for Phillips and Browne represented the pro-slavery strength. The lines dividing the anti-slavery and pro-slavery parties were cut and recut by other party lines, many of which were too rigid to give way under the stress of the slavery agitation of 1822. On account of such conditions the issue has remained clouded, and not until the political alignments are clearly understood can any definite determinations be made. Warren gives a good view of the situation in *Edwardsville Spectator*, February 6, 1821.

²⁷*Edwardsville Spectator*, December 5, 1821.

opposed his candidacy.²⁸ Here is seen the spectacle of two of the leading anti-slavery leaders out of harmony at a time when both professed to believe that the pro-slavery forces were plotting the disgrace of the state; and in refusing to sink their differences they almost brought about the very thing they were trying to prevent.

The second candidate in point of time was Joseph Phillips, chief justice of the state supreme court. Warren attacked his candidacy with great bitterness, charged him with being the leader of the pro-slavery forces, and declared that he had made an unholy alliance with the "ministerial officers of the state."²⁹ The pro-slavery press called on the "Friends of Liberal Principles" to support Phillips for governor.³⁰ In the light of public utterances of both parties there can be no reasonable doubt that Phillips was friendly to the introduction of slavery.

The third candidate was James B. Moore, who was an old soldier, having served with the "rangers" during the War of 1812. So far as an examination of contemporary newspapers discloses he had no other platform than a desire to obtain the highest office in the state. His neighbors claimed that the next governor ought to come from Monroe County, and because of this feeling they supported his candidacy.³¹

The fourth candidate to offer himself was Browne, who at the time was associated on the state supreme bench with Judge Phillips. Browne was a close friend of Edwards, and used Warren's paper to put his candidacy before the people.³² It would be true to say that Browne was ambitious for office at this time as he was all through life, yet the fact that he used a paper supported by Edwards and edited by Warren as a means for getting political support is something more than a coincidence. None of the three other candidates was acceptable to Edwards and Warren, hence the bringing out of Browne by the Edwards party. With this fact established there remains to be examined the relation between Browne's candidacy and the slavery question. Just what his personal attitude was has

²⁸W. H. Brown in *Chicago American*, December 22, 1840; *Edwardsville Spectator*, October 30, December 4, 1821.

²⁹*Edwardsville Spectator*, April 17, 1821.

³⁰*Illinois Intelligencer*, July 3, 1821.

³¹*Edwardsville Spectator*, October 24, 1820.

³²See *Edwardsville Spectator*, July 22, 1822.

failed to be recorded.³³ Yet it would have been the height of inconsistency for Warren not to have attacked Browne's candidacy, had it been brought forward to secure the election of Phillips, as some have said,³⁴ or to further the slavery interests in any way whatever. If Warren had supported a candidate who stood for slavery, he was either a knave or a fool; yet he was neither. Browne is known to have favored a canal from the lakes to the Mississippi, and this project was being opposed by the pro-slavery party. In taking this attitude Browne was

³³On account of Browne's candidacy being the disturbing element in this campaign, his platform is well worth preservation, and is given below. Fellow Citizens:

It is a very common thing for candidates for the suffrage of the people to make the tender of their services with an apology of having been induced thereto by the solicitation of numerous friends and acquaintances, and to gratify the wish of a large proportion of the people. I am not going to make this apology or that such preference was made with reference to my candidacy, for in most cases their choice is their own, but candor, I think, is best at all times. I am free to confess the plain honest truth that in becoming a candidate for governor that I have been influenced mainly by my own desire to fill that important position and to acquire the honorable reputation by discharging these duties with impartial fidelity and usefulness. It has, I am informed, been objected to me that I am opposed to a canal for connecting the waters of Lake Michigan and Illinois River. Nothing could be less true I assure you. A friend to internal improvements and to the most direct and easy intercommunication between the different parts of our happy nation, I consider the connection of the northern lakes with our own waters not only calculated to produce great political and commercial advantages, but also to promote immigration to our own state, a hope which no true friend to it can regard with indifference. In conclusion fellow citizens I have only to remark that should I be elected (which by the kind efforts of the people I believe I will) it shall be my constant endeavor by every effort in my power to advance our agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests; to promote education throughout the state with equal regard to the just claims of each respective community, and to protect the political, civil and just rights of all and each one of my fellow citizens with equal right impartially.—*Edwardsville Spectator*, July 22, 1822.

³⁴See Washburne, *Coles*, 59. Phillips expressed the opinion in a private letter that the coming out of other candidates was not to assist his candidacy but to hurt it. He was apparently speaking of Browne's candidacy. See *Sloo Correspondence*, 51.

in full accord with the principles advanced and supported by Edwards and his party.³⁵

It was considered by one who participated in the slavery struggle of 1824 that the real contest lay between Phillips and Browne.³⁶ In fighting each other the leaders of the old factions failed to take into consideration the new vote in the northern part of the state. Unlike their neighbors in the southern counties the northern settlers regarded the slavery question with great seriousness. To them the struggle of the old parties appeared secondary to the more important one against slavery. Thus these people were very much in earnest in their opposition to any candidate whose public record or utterances from the stump stamped him as friendly to slavery; and they formed a third party, which was strikingly sectional.³⁷ This section comprised the northern and central counties, only one of which McLean, the pro-slavery candidate for Congress, was able to carry.

The indifference to the question of slavery as manifested by the supporters of Browne and Phillips in the southern counties offers a striking contrast to the above. At the same election Cook, the anti-slavery candidate for Congress, carried seventeen counties, of which five gave majorities or pluralities for Phillips and three for Browne. Cutting across all party and factional lines and adding confusion to the situation, was the large vote polled by the respective candidates in their own neighborhoods. Thus McLean and Browne, both of whom were from the eastern side of the state, were favorites in that section; while Cook and Phillips received the support of their neighbors in the western counties.

³⁵See *Illinois Intelligencer*, July 21, 1824. In a communication apparently intended for publication, Edwards states clearly that the pro-slavery people had opposed the canal. See N. Edwards, Communication, August Election, 1828. (Eddy MSS.) Before Browne became a candidate Edwards was urged to offer himself for governor. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 190. Edwards' opposition to Coles may have been due to his opposition to Crawford. Edwards was a zealous Calhoun man, and supported that statesman for years. See Sloo, *Correspondence*, 77.

³⁶W. H. Brown in *Chicago American*, December 22, 1840.

³⁷See *Edwardsville Spectator*, December 4, 1821.

Coles was elected, but by a plurality vote; he received less than one-third of all the votes cast at the election.³⁸ The original election schedules with a few exceptions have been lost or destroyed. Those remaining offer an opportunity for partial reconstruction of parties and tickets. Of the 147 voters supporting Coles in Springfield Township, Sangamon County, but 34 supported McLean for Congress. The 86 votes for Phillips and the 14 for Browne, were distributed in each case between the candidates for Congress, Cook and McLean, in the ratio of 8 to 6.³⁹ In Vandalia, the state capital, those voting for Coles very generally voted for Cook. In East Fork Township of the same county, Coles, Phillips and Browne each received 8 votes; Cook received 6 of the Coles votes, 4 of the Phillips votes, and 2 of the Browne votes. Bankson Township of the same county offers an extreme illustration of political vagary. In that township Coles received 16 votes, Phillips 17, Moore 1, and Browne 2; and every one of the 36 voted for Cook.⁴⁰ In a way these few cases are typical.⁴¹ Coles and Cook very generally received the support of the same voters, while those supporting Browne and Phillips divided their votes between McLean and Cook, their individual preferences resting upon factional adherence, personal following, sectional pride, and in some cases upon national issues.

The result of the election was not so much a victory for freedom as it was one for the new party in the northern counties. It demonstrated the fact that thenceforth this new element in the state must be considered in political contests. More than that

³⁸The vote for governor was distributed among the candidates as follows: Coles, 2854; Phillips, 2687; Browne, 2443; Moore, 622.

MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois).

Coles should be credited with one vote more than shown in the returns in the secretary of state's office owing to a mistake in making up the totals in Fayette County.

³⁹*MSS.* Election Returns (Sangamon County Court House, Springfield, Illinois.)

⁴⁰*MSS.* Election Returns (Fayette County Court House, Vandalia, Illinois.)

⁴¹The election returns for Edwards County, which are only fragmentary, illustrate sectional loyalty. Browne, who held court in that county, was very generally supported by the voters of Albion, the county seat.

it brought to the front new men, and paved the way for new political alignments; it showed that the political center of gravity had moved northward since the organization of the state; in a word it brought prominently to the front the importance of issues and principles, and tended to subordinate personality as a political force.

During the campaign of 1822 there arose a respectable demand for calling a convention to change the state constitution. The friends of slavery very generally favored the convention proposition, and justified their position by pointing out the advisability of changing the constitutional provision regulating the judiciary. They emphasized the fact that the constitution of 1818 had never been formally accepted by the people at the polls, and some even questioned its legality. All this the anti-slavery leaders professed to believe was a subterfuge for legalizing slavery by a constitutional amendment. The introduction of open-and-above-board slavery could be brought about only by an amendment to the constitution, for that instrument forbade slavery except in a few special and relatively unimportant cases;⁴² and amending the constitution was possible only by means of a constitutional convention, the calling of which depended upon the recommendation of "two-thirds of the General Assembly," and finally by a majority vote of the people.⁴³

The anti-slavery forces very generally opposed all agitation on the question of changing the constitution, and in fact any discussion that might lead to a demand for such a change. Gov-

⁴²There has been considerable speculation about the slavery clause in the constitution of 1818. The *Illinois Republican*, June 30, 1824, states that the constitutional convention of 1818 was made up of 21 anti-slavery and 12 pro-slavery members. (Quoted in Churchill-Lippincott, Ninth Paper.) It is certain that the question of slavery was discussed at the convention. The opinion got abroad that slavery was to be legalized by the constitution, and as a result an address against the system was sent to the convention. Because of the prominence of some of its signers in politics at a later date, their names are here given: from St. Clair County, Risdon Moore, Benj. Waits, Jacob Ogle, Joshua Oglesby, William Scott, Sr., William Biggs, George Blair, Charles R. Matheny, James Garretson, William Kinney; from Madison County, William B. Whiteside; from Monroe County, James Lemon, Sr.; from Washington County, W. H. Bradsby.—*Illinois Intelligencer*, August 5, 1818. Kane was said to have been in favor of legalizing slavery, but in 1820 he denied that such was the case. See *Edwardsville Spectator*, July 25, 1820.

⁴³*Constitution*, 1818, Art. VII., par. 1.

ernor Coles, however, seems not to have taken this attitude. In his inaugural address delivered before the joint session of the two houses, he boldly and perhaps unexpectedly to all parties, urged the advisability of radical legislation regarding negroes both free and slave.⁴⁴ It was his expressed desire not only to remove all legal restrictions imposed upon free negroes, but what was more important, to set in motion legislation that would make Illinois a free state in fact as well as in name. In both branches of the General Assembly the pro-slavery element was in the majority, yet that part of the governor's message relating to negroes was received with apparent approval.

The General Assembly hearkened to Coles' admonitions but hardly in the way he expected. A committee on "abrogation of slavery and the kidnapping of free negroes" was selected in each house, and on both committees friends of the proposition to make Illinois a slave state predominated.⁴⁵ The temper of the conventionists, a term usually applied to those favoring a convention to amend the constitution, is expressed in the report of the senate select committee: "Illinois was admitted into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever; and . . . the people of Illinois have now the same right to alter their constitution as the people of the state of Virginia, or any of the original states."⁴⁶ Thus the pioneer lawmakers of Illinois struck at the very root of the question when they challenged the validity of the Ordinance of 1787. There were able arguments for and against the position taken by the committee, and a majority of the members of the General Assembly accepted the doctrine as sound.

⁴⁴In a letter to Nicholas Biddle, Coles gives the reason for his unexpected move against slavery. "Knowing that this measure would be strenuously urged during the late session of the Legislature, and that many who professed to be hostile to the further introduction of Slavery, would advocate it, and believing that it would have a salutary effect to furnish them an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their professions . . . I called the attention of the Legislature to the existence of Slavery in the State, in violation of the great fundamental principles of the ordinance, and recommended that just and equitable provision be made for its abrogation." Washburne, *Coles*, 147-8.

⁴⁵The personnel of the senate committee is significant in the light of future politics: Boon, Ladd, Kinney and Beaird.—*Senate Journal*, 1822-3, p. 33.

⁴⁶*Senate Journal*, 1822-3, p. 16 *passim*.

The struggle in the General Assembly over the proposition to recommend to the voters the calling of a constitutional convention was extremely bitter and served to divide the slavery men from the anti-slavery men. Hitherto many had held an uncertain position, but with the realization that the legislative journals would bear evidence of their position, those wavering took definite positions for or against slavery. The friends of slavery were not only in the majority, but they were led by more able leaders than were their opponents.⁴⁷ After considerable manoeuvring on the part of the conventionists the question came to a vote and fell short of the necessary two-thirds by one vote. Finally the measure passed the senate by a vote of twelve to six, and the single vote in the house necessary to make the required two-thirds majority was secured by reopening an earlier election contest, and unseating Hansen of Pike County, who had voted in the negative. The next day, February 12, 1823, the measure passed the house by a vote of twenty-four to twelve, and the question of a constitutional convention was legally submitted to the people for their consideration, with the tacit understanding that a convention meant the introduction of slavery into the state.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Perhaps the most prominent pro-slavery leader was Alexander Pope Field, Jackson man in 1824, anti-Van Buren in 1836, Whig in 1840 and afterwards, and later a Unionist in Louisiana.

⁴⁸*Senate Journal*, 1822-3, p. 161 ff.; *House Journal*, 1822-3, p. 200 *passim*. So much has been said about the real feeling of the people on the question of slavery, that it seems worth while at this place to examine the relation of the members of the General Assembly to their respective constituencies. Upon the basis of the vote for and against a convention in 1824, the following conclusions and facts are presented:

1. With the exception of Emmett (White) and Mather (Randolph) all the anti-conventionists really represented their respective constituencies.

2. Of the twenty-four conventionists, thirteen were from convention counties (i.e., those giving a majority vote in favor of calling a convention), ten from anti-convention counties, and one from a county (Johnson) that was evenly divided for and against a convention.

In the election of members of the General Assembly in 1824, three anti-convention candidates were defeated in anti-convention counties as follows:

1. Lowery was beaten in Clark and Edgar by Archer, another

The year and a half convention campaign (February 12, 1823-August 3, 1824) was long drawn out and hard fought. Leadership was recruited from every available source. Many prominent men, particularly those who had come to the state since 1818, had hitherto interested themselves very little in the personal and political struggles between Edwards and his enemies; but with the coming to the front of the slavery question they threw off their indifference and assumed the rôle of leaders. During the discussion of the Missouri question these same men had been content to denounce the system of slavery in generalities, but with its threatened encroachment upon their homes they went seriously to the task of exposing the evils incident to it by the use of specific arguments. Pressure was brought to bear upon all the newspapers in the state to compel them to take sides in the controversy, and their scathing and acrimonious editorials and signed articles brought forth bitter replies.⁴⁹ Counties, towns, neighborhoods, and even families were divided,⁵⁰ and personal encounters between over-zealous partisans were not at all uncommon. The conventionists threatened to import voters from the old slave states, and to prevent this the anti-conventionists organized themselves into societies and appointed vigilance committees.⁵¹ The anti-conventionists

anti-convention man.

2. McGahey was beaten in Crawford, where there were five candidates, he being second and having fifty-five votes less than the successful candidate.

3. G. T. Pell was beaten in Edwards.

Mather, anti-conventionist, was re-elected in a convention county. In this election, five conventionists were beaten as follows:

1. Alexander in Monroe, anti-convention county.
2. Campbell in Wayne, convention county.
3. Field in Union, anti-convention county.
4. Shaw in Pike, anti-convention county.
5. West in Madison, anti-convention county.

MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois).

⁴⁹E.g. see *Illinois Intelligencer*, February 15, 1823; Scott, *Illinois Newspapers*, 340.

⁵⁰"With us the Convention is the most interesting subject. It is a dish which is daily, nay hourly served up. . . . Party feeling is carried further here than it ever was in Massachusetts."—*Portfolio*, XVII., 524.

⁵¹W. Kinkade to A. Williams, September 15, 1823. (Williams-Woodbury MSS.)

based their arguments against a convention on purely anti-slavery principles. They contended that the introduction of slavery was morally wrong and economically unwise.⁵² The conventionists argued in some quarters that the constitution needed revising and denied that it was their intention to bring up the question of slavery. In other quarters they came out boldly for the introduction of slavery, and pointed out the necessity for such action if the Yankees were to be kept from the state.⁵³

An examination of the personnel of the two parties is worth while, in that it offers the opportunity for a study of sectionalism and later political affiliations. Of the thirty leading anti-conventionists, fifteen appear to have been born in the North, fourteen in the South, and one in England; and aside from that distinctive group of newcomers represented by such men as Hooper Warren, George Churchill, and Governor Coles, the principal element in the make-up of this leadership owed nominal allegiance to the Edwards party. If from the conventionist forces, fifty of the most prominent leaders be chosen, it is found that some twenty-eight or thirty were natives of the South, about fifteen of the North, five of Europe, and one of Illinois.⁵⁴ On account of the large percentage of northerners found in the leadership of both parties, two very important questions are raised: Was the strength of the northern element in Illinois at that time greater than has generally been suspected, or did the members of that element hold office and assume

⁵²In a letter to Governor Coles, Robert Vaux lays bare the arguments of the anti-conventionists: "One of these tracts is designed to show the impolicy and unprofitableness of slave labor. . . . Another essay exhibits a succinct account of the cruelties of the slave trade. . . ; and a third pamphlet is intended to show that the interminable bondage of any portion of the human race is, on the part of the oppressors, a flagrant violation of natural and Divine Justice, and utterly inconsistent with the doctrines of our Holy Redeemer."—Washburne, *Coles*, 158-9.

⁵³*Illinois Republican*, July 21, 1824.

⁵⁴To avoid any criticism that might arise from taking a selected group of leaders of either party, every member of the General Assembly of 1822-3, and all others listed by contemporary accounts as conventionists or anti-conventionists have been included in the above list. It is impossible to give all references to data of nativity, but the most helpful sources have been Washburne, *Coles*, 106 ff.; *Illinois Intelligencer*, January 11, 1823; *Missouri Republican*, January 29, 1823.

leadership out of all proportion to its voting strength? When more thorough investigations have been made it is likely that both questions will be answered in the affirmative.⁵⁵

The election of 1824 (August 3) resulted in a complete victory for the anti-slavery forces. Not only was the convention proposition defeated by a large majority, but Cook, against whom the convention forces had pitted Governor Bond, was re-elected to Congress. The counties that had supported Coles for governor in 1822, declared very generally against the proposition to call a convention, but the anti-convention vote in these counties would have been of no avail without the assistance of the anti-convention elements in the southern parts of the state. Although Coles had received but four per cent. of the entire vote cast in Alexander County in 1822, the convention forces were able to carry that county by only a small majority; and the election returns of Gallatin, Johnson, Franklin, Wayne, Randolph and Jefferson counties show that hundreds who voted for Browne or Phillips in 1822, voted against the convention two years later. In none of the counties mentioned had the Coles vote been greater than fifteen per cent., yet the vote against a convention varied from eighteen per cent. in Gallatin to forty-five per cent. in Randolph County. Although Coles had received a little more than seventeen per cent. of the entire vote in Lawrence and Union counties, less than two-fifths of the voters in those counties gave their support to the convention proposition.

On account of the all-absorbing slavery question, the presidential election of 1824 received scant attention at the hands of the voters, and contemporary accounts differ as to the relation between the conventionists and anti-conventionists on the one hand, and the presidential candidates on the other. The election returns indicate that Adams' greater strength was in the counties in which the anti-conventionists were in the majority; in fact every county carried by Adams gave a majority against the convention. Yet his strength in the convention counties

⁵⁵An examination of the *Edwardsville Spectator* for the years 1820-6, and the *Missouri Republican* for the same period throws light on this question. In the notice of deaths one is struck by the fact that in those notices in which the nativity of the deceased is given, a majority is from free states. S. J. Buck, *The New England Element in Illinois Politics before 1833*. (Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1912-13, p. 49, ff.)

along the Mississippi River was very respectable. Of the twelve counties carried by Jackson, nine gave majorities for, and two against, the convention, and in the twelfth county the vote was a tie. Clay was the choice of three counties only, all of which opposed calling a convention, but in four Adams counties the Clay vote was considerable. An examination of election returns shows that on the whole the Adams and Jackson strength ran to extremes, while Clay was held as a second choice. Among the leaders, however, a slightly different situation arose. Crawford was the natural choice of the leaders of the anti-Edwards party,⁵⁶ but because his candidacy had never created any enthusiasm in Illinois these leaders were constrained to support a more popular candidate; and in this case the candidate supported was Jackson.⁵⁷ Edwards and his close political friends were Calhoun men and bitterly opposed to Crawford,⁵⁸ but they appear to have been unable to unite on any one of the other three candidates. For instance, Cook was for Adams,⁵⁹ and Eddy for Jackson;⁶⁰ while Edwards himself was non-committal with a leaning toward Adams.⁶¹

Both parties in the convention contest appear to have accepted the results of the election as final,⁶² and never afterwards were the people of Illinois asked to vote for and against

⁵⁶Senator Thomas was a member of the Congressional Caucus that nominated Crawford in February, 1824. Thomas' appointment as bank examiner in Illinois by Crawford was severely criticized by the friends of Edwards. See *Illinois Intelligencer*, February 15, 1823. Kane, McLean, Smith, West, and Kinney, all anti-Edwards men acknowledged that they had been Crawford supporters. See *Illinois Intelligencer*, May 8, 1830.

⁵⁷Dr. Todd (conventionist) was candidate as Clay elector; A. P. Field (conventionist) was elected as Jackson elector.

⁵⁸As long as Calhoun was a candidate for president, Edwards supported him. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 216, *passim*.

⁵⁹See D. P. Cook to H. Eddy, April 24, 1824, May 19, 1825. (Eddy MSS.)

⁶⁰Eddy was Jackson elector in 1824.

⁶¹G. Forquer to H. Eddy, December 15, 1827. (Eddy MSS.)

⁶²"That question [slavery] is supposed to be forever set at rest, and the hardy sons of New England may continue to migrate to this fertile region, whither so many of their countrymen have gone before them."—*Portfolio*, XVIII., 506. "In six months after the question was settled, a politician who was in favor of the introduction of slavery in the state, was a *rara avis*."—*Western Annals*, 793.

the introduction of slavery into the state. Although five-sixths of the members of the Fourth General Assembly had been chosen at the same election at which the convention proposition had been defeated by a decisive majority, that body elected to the United States Senate two of the ablest and most zealous advocates of the proposition to introduce slavery, namely, John McLean and Elias Kent Kane. A writer on this period has said concerning this election that "there is nothing stranger than this in our political history."⁶³ The explanation for such a political paradox rests not upon a study of the convention parties, but rather upon older political alignments. The majority of the General Assembly of 1824-5 was not necessarily pro-slavery and pro-convention because it elected men of that belief to office; the issue of slavery and convention ceased to have active life after the election of 1824. The majority owed political allegiance to the enemies of Mr. Edwards, and nothing was more natural than that this majority should honor two of its leaders by electing them to the United States Senate,—one to fill out a vacancy and the other to succeed him. Thus the three leaders of the anti-Edwards party, Thomas, McLean and Kane, were members or members-elect of the United States Senate.

The failure of any one of the four presidential candidates to receive a majority of the electoral votes complicated political matters in the state, and made a lasting impress upon its parties and official personnel. When the presidential election devolved upon the House of Representatives, Daniel Pope Cook, sole representative from Illinois, was forced to choose among the three candidates, Jackson, Adams and Crawford. When there seemed a possibility before the presidential election of 1824, that there would be no choice at the polls, Cook announced that his official vote in the House, should such a contingency arise, would be guided by the wish of a majority of his constituents.⁶⁴ In the election Jackson had carried two of the three districts in the state, but no one of the candidates had received a majority of the popular vote.⁶⁵ Because of the doubtful lines that divided the

⁶³Washburne, *Coles*, 194.

⁶⁴*Illinois Republican*, July 24, 1824; Edwards, *Edwards*, 261-2; D. P. Cook to H. Eddy, April 24, 1824, May 19, 1825. (Eddy MSS.)

⁶⁵Voting for presidential electors was by districts. An echo of the meeting of the electors came in the year 1828. When the electors met at Vandalia Harrison and Field each wished to carry the results to

candidates Cook had no guide other than a rough estimate of who would have carried the state had Adams and Jackson been the only candidates.⁶⁶ Under these circumstances he seems to have come to the conclusion that a majority of the people preferred Adams, and cast his vote accordingly. In the absence of a clear mandate from his constituents he justified his act on the ground that Adams was better fitted for the presidency than was Jackson or Crawford.

The election of Adams, or better the defeat of Jackson, determined very largely the political alignments in the United States for the next twenty years, and because of Cook's vote this statement is particularly true of conditions in Illinois. As soon as the people learned through the medium of Jackson's astute managers that "the old hero had been cheated out of his rights," and that the "will of the people had been thwarted by a corrupt bargain" entered into by Adams and Clay, they rallied to the Jackson standard. Cook's close affiliation with the anti-convention party had the effect of throwing headlong into the Jackson camp his opponents, who had been on the whole pro-conventionists and adherents of the Thomas-Kane-McLean party. The northern, anti-convention, or Coles party, had very generally voted for Adams, and his selection by the House of Representatives met with the approbation of that party. The great bulk of the old Edwards party appears to have espoused the Jackson cause after Adams' election. Thus growing out of the

Washington. Eddy, the third elector, did not believe that an elector was qualified to perform such a task. Harrison was chosen, and when Field was a congressional candidate in 1836 it was urged that he was not a good Jackson man because he had allowed Harrison to carry the vote. Eddy was appealed to in the matter to prove that Field had been a good Jackson man. See H. Eddy to A. P. Field, June 11, 1828. (Eddy MSS.)

⁶⁶It is probable that Cook felt that the vote for Clay, who was not a candidate before the House, would have been given very generally under other circumstances for Adams. There was one circumstance upon which the friends of Cook have based a very ingenious argument. In one of the districts there was in addition to the regular Clay, Adams, and Jackson tickets, a fourth going under the name "Jackson and Clay." It has been charged that the supporters of this ticket, several hundreds in number, were Crawford men, who preferred not to come out openly for their champion. All this, in the absence of positive proof, is conjecture. See Edwards, *Edwards*, 260, *passim*.

convention contest of 1824, and the presidential election of 1824-5, were three more or less distinct parties: the ultra, or, as it was more familiarly called, the "whole hog" Jackson party;⁶⁷ a party favoring Jackson, the members of which were called "milk and cider" Jackson men; and finally the anti-Jackson party, which was confined principally to the northern counties, and made up on the whole of the more radical anti-slavery elements.⁶⁸ As we shall see presently the first formed the nucleus of the Democratic party, the last, the National Republican and later the Whig party, while the second broke up, one part going to the Whigs, another part to the Democrats.

In 1826, the two leading gubernatorial candidates were Ninian Edwards and Thomas Sloo Jr., both of whom were professed Jackson men but of a different type. Sloo seems to have been the candidate of the "whole hog" Jackson element,⁶⁹ while Edwards received the support of the more temperate Jackson men; and an examination of the election returns indicates that the anti-Jackson vote was divided between them, the larger part going to Edwards. A third candidate was Adolphus F. Hubbard, who was more radical in his support of Jackson than was Sloo. Edwards was elected, but by a plurality vote, the combined strength of his opponents exceeding his by nearly two

⁶⁷One definition of a "whole hog" Jackson man: "A fiery tempered person, who has no opinion of his own, but votes, and praises, and censures, and turns, just as he is bid by the county caucus."—*Cincinnati American*, September 20, 1830.

⁶⁸Similar divisions in the Jackson ranks are to be found in other states. In Ohio such divisions appear, but to them more polite terms were applied than was the case in Illinois. There the "whole hog" faction bore the name "dyed in the wool."—*Ohio State Journal*, October 28, 1830; *Scioto Gazette*, April 24, November 3, 1830.

⁶⁹Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 262. "He, Edwards, was opposed by all the old members of the legislature, who had supported the many unwise measures of finance, and by the whole bank influence, from the President down to the lowest agents, who had in any wise cause to fear an investigation." Ford, *History of Illinois*, 64. This evidence may be biased, as Ford and Edwards were confidential friends about this time. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 438. In a letter to Henry Clay, Edwards says: "As to myself, I had to encounter all the opposition of the great body of the Jackson interest, and to tell you the truth (for I feel no motive to conceal anything of the kind) I used all the policy in my power, and freely subjected myself to great risk, to force all my opponents to come out on that side of the question." Washburne, *Edwards*, 261.

hundred votes.⁷⁰ On account of the political unrest of the time, and the shifting of population due to immigration and the tendency of the people of the southern counties to move northward, the election lacks that sectional aspect which is so characteristic of early Illinois politics. Edwards' strength lay in the extreme southern counties, in the northern and west central counties, and in a few counties adjacent to the Indiana line.⁷¹

For the sixth time Cook offered himself in 1826 as a candidate for Congress. Since his vote for Adams the year before, the tide had turned against him, and each day saw it running higher. Despite the feeling on the part of some of the Jackson leaders that the election of Adams was not the result of a bargain between Adams and Clay,⁷² the charge made by Jackson's managers that such was the case seems to have been believed very generally in Illinois; and those so believing naturally opposed Cook. It would be safe to say that Cook's vote for Adams in 1825 brought about his political downfall, although his closest friend denied that such was the case.⁷³ Cook's opponent was Joseph Duncan. Young Duncan was no campaigner, lacked the magnetism of his adversary, and cut a sorry figure in comparison with the brilliant Cook. Yet he was elected in spite of this handicap, for Cook carried still greater handi-

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⁷⁰The vote for governor was distributed among the candidates as follows: Edwards, 6280; Sloo, 5833; Hubbard, 580.

MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois).

⁷¹In his campaign for governor Edwards made capital of his trouble with Crawford. It was his belief that the "A.B." affair was a strength to his candidacy. See N. Edwards to H. Eddy, February 2, 1825; J. McLean to H. Eddy, February 3, 1825; N. Edwards to J. Marshall, June 29, 1826. (Eddy MSS.)

⁷²"No man I think believes that there is the least foundation for the accusation against Mr. Clay and no man effects to credit it but Mr. Kremer." J. McLean to H. Eddy, February 3, 1825. (Eddy MSS.) For further views on the subject of the alleged bargain see, Colton, *Clay*, IV., 409 ff, V., 299, 341; Benton, *View*, I., 48; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI., 483; Edwards, *Edwards*, 479; Tyler, *Tyler*, I, 259 ff.; Calhoun, *Correspondence*, II., 230-1, 249; *Nile's Register*, XXIII., 203-8, XXVIII., 355.

⁷³In a letter to Henry Clay written after the election Edwards contends that Cook's defeat was due to his overconfidence. Washburne, *Edwards*, 261.

caps: his vote for Adams,⁷⁴ his long official service, and his relationship to Edwards. If the returns of the congressional elections for the years 1824 and 1826 be compared, it will be seen that the defection from Cook in the latter year was general throughout the state. A county here and there gave him a larger percent. of its entire vote than it had in 1824, but this increase was more than offset by sharp decreases in other counties. In most of the counties, however, the decrease was small and strikingly uniform, a condition that seems to indicate that his vote for Adams was unpopular among certain classes all over the state. A similar defection is shown by comparing the congressional election returns with those for governor. Cook uniformly ran behind Edwards, except in those counties where his personal popularity was very great, or where his vote for Adams was approved.

Events during the next two years caused a radical shifting of party alignments. Edwards' attack on the president and directors of the Bank at Edwardsville aroused his old political enemies and made many new ones.⁷⁵ After Crawford's chances for the presidency were seen to have been lost, Thomas was inclined to support Adams and Cook, and he is said to have desired to be friendly with Edwards.⁷⁶ McLean wavered in his opposition to Edwards,⁷⁷ while Kane, who had been elected to the United States Senate in 1825, ceased almost entirely to take an interest in state affairs. The leadership of the anti-Edwards party then passed into the hands of William Kinney and T. W. Smith.⁷⁸

⁷⁴Cook had married a daughter of Edwards. In a great many quarters dissatisfaction had arisen because two members of the same family were continually in office. Cook's opponents took up the cry "let us have rotation in office," and it cannot be denied that such a slogan had its effect on the election. Washburne, *Edwards*, 501. There was a certain discredit given to Cook's vote for Adams, and the charge against him was not dissimilar to that against Adams and Clay. Early in 1824 it was charged that Edwards' appointment as minister to Mexico was the result of a bargain whereby Cook was to support the choice of the Monroe administration for president. See D. P. Cook to H. Eddy, April 24, 1824. (Eddy MSS.)

⁷⁵Ford, *History of Illinois*, 65 ff.; Washburne, *Edwards*, 270, *passim*.

⁷⁶*Edwardsville Spectator*, September 15, 1826.

⁷⁷Washburne, *Edwards*, 355, *passim*.

⁷⁸A contemporary politician divides the politicians into yet smaller groups as follows: 1. Smith, Kinney and West. 2. John and Thomas

As a result of the shifting of political lines in local affairs, new alignments in national politics were likewise necessary. Some of the Clay and Calhoun leaders went over for the time being to Adams,⁷⁹ but it is certain that a majority of them adhered to Jackson after Adams' election in 1825. The Crawford element went over to Jackson.⁸⁰ By 1827 two factions appeared in the Adams ranks. One group supported Adams and Edwards; the other supported Adams but opposed Edwards.⁸¹ There was dissatisfaction in some quarters with the administration because of Adams' disinclination to build up a political machine by removing his enemies from office and appointing his friends,⁸² yet the Adams cause was injured much more by the feeling that the president held his office as the result of intrigue, and that he was out of sympathy with western ideals. As yet, however, many of the men that were to take the lead as Jackson men, and later as Democrats, were followers of Adams.⁸³ Edwards and his friends opposed Duncan's re-election in August, 1828, supporting George Forquer for the place.⁸⁴ Forquer was an adherent of the national administration, and while this fact seems to have been very generally known, his friends made every attempt to keep the issues of the election local. Duncan's supporters pretended to do the same, but it is well known that Jacksonianism became an issue before the close of the campaign. Under such circumstances there could be but one outcome: Duncan was re-elected, and the results in Illinois of the presidential campaign of a few months later were accurately forecasted.

Reynolds. 3. Jesse B. Thomas. 4. John McLean. 5. Edwards & Co. See *Sloo Correspondence*, 81-2. The last four groups were combined against the first in a great many cases.

⁷⁹See *Edwardsville Spectator*, September 15, 1825; *Illinois Intelligencer*, July 10, 1830.

⁸⁰W. Orr to H. Eddy, February 21, 1827. (Eddy MSS.); *Illinois Intelligencer*, May 8, 1830. In a communication to Edwards written in 1827, J. M. Street states that the Crawford men in Gallatin County were very generally supporting the national administration. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 285.

⁸¹G. Forquer to H. Eddy, December 15, 1827. (Eddy MSS.)

⁸²Washburne, *Edwards*, 263.

⁸³E.g. Thomas Ford, George Forquer, Sidney Breese.

⁸⁴N. Edwards (Communication), August election, 1828. (Eddy MSS.) Washburne, *Edwards*, 343. *passim*.

Jackson's majority in 1828, of almost five thousand out of a total vote of less than fifteen thousand indicated a temporary union of the two factions of the Jackson party.⁸⁵ "Milk and cider" Jackson men were no less desirous than their more radical neighbors to elect Jackson. The General Assembly was made up largely of Jackson men, the "whole hog" element predominating; while from the northern counties came several Adams supporters. The latter were apparently in sympathy with Edwards and his policies. They united at the request of Edwards, however, in electing John McLean to the United States Senate⁸⁶ by a unanimous vote. McLean succeeded Thomas, who at the time was on the eve of leaving the Jackson party.

The lines for and against Jackson had not been so tightly drawn that they could not be crossed with ease. After the election of 1828, Edwards was advised by his brother-in-law, Duff Green, to prove to Jackson that he was his friend, and there are reasons for believing that Edwards followed the advice and made overtures in that direction.⁸⁷ Because of unsettled political conditions, those federal office holders in the state who were friendly to the outgoing administration in 1829, made an effort to hold their places by moving toward the Jackson ranks without actually joining them. To such a movement the Jackson administration refused to become a party; and a direct demand was made that the Jackson party in Illinois should not join in any way with the "coalition."⁸⁸ Such a proposal merely indicates the chaotic condition of national politics, and the refusal of the administration to join with the old friends of Adams

⁸⁵The vote for president was distributed between the candidates as follows: Jackson, 9582; Adams, 4662.

MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois).

⁸⁶Light is thrown on Edwards' attitude toward McLean's candidacy in his letters to McLean. See Washburne, *Edwards*, 343 ff.

⁸⁷"Relax not in your efforts. Prove that your support of the President is sincere. Write to *him* in *confidence*, and all that has transpired will tend to increase instead of diminish your future influence." D. Green to N. Edwards, August 19, 1829. Washburne, *Edwards*, 429. Again Green writes, "If the *new* friends of the President have been more successful it is because they have sustained themselves and made a stronger case." *Ibid.* 447.

⁸⁸S. D. Ingham to S. H. Kimmell, August 1, 1829. (Eddy MSS.)

clarified the situation. It did more than that; it drew a line between the two factions of the Jackson party, and thenceforth "whole hog" and "milk and cider" were terms with a definite meaning.

The next gubernatorial campaign was begun more than twelve months before the election in August, 1830. The candidates were William Kinney and John Reynolds. The former was an out and out Jackson man of the "whole hog" variety, and every effort was made by him and his friends to keep the question of Jacksonianism to the front.⁸⁹ Edwards favored Reynolds, despite a serious misunderstanding that had arisen between them during the Winnebago scare in 1828.⁹⁰ Reynolds has said since that he was a "milk and cider" Jackson man,⁹¹ and his correspondence would indicate that he was, yet he made an appeal for the support of the anti-Jackson party.⁹² Kinney was charged with opposing a canal,⁹³ with a desire to turn every body out of office,⁹⁴ and with being the tool of Senator Benton.⁹⁵ Reynolds with all his faults was a better politician than his opponent; he secured a large vote from the Adams counties without alienating from him enough Jackson votes to cause his own defeat.⁹⁶ Such a procedure was called "playing for all

⁸⁹ Washburne, *Edwards*, 432.

⁹⁰ N. Edwards to Editors, *Illinois Intelligencer*. July 22, 1830. N. Edwards to A. F. Grant, September 17, 1832. (Eddy MSS.)

⁹¹ Reynolds was nominated at a Jackson meeting in Union County, October 9, 1829. See *Illinois Intelligencer*, October 31, 1829.

⁹² Washburne, *Edwards*, 433; J. Reynolds to S. H. Kimmell, December 10, 1829; S. H. Kimmell to A. F. Grant, October 29, 1829. (Eddy MSS.)

⁹³ Washburne, *Edwards*, 470.

⁹⁴ D. Prickett to A. F. Grant, July 1, 1830. (Eddy MSS.)

⁹⁵ *Western Democrat*, December 2, 1829; *Missouri Republican*, January 5, 1830.

⁹⁶ Reynolds was said to have been elected by friends of the American System. See *Cincinnati American*, December 27, 1830. By some papers the election of Reynolds was taken as defeat for the Jackson party in Illinois. See *Ibid.* August 23, 1830; *Louisville Advertiser*, August 11, 1830.

There must necessarily remain considerable speculation as to the real issues in the campaign. A claim was made after the election that Kinney had been defeated because of his endorsement of Jackson's pro-scription policy. See *Kaskaskia Democrat*, August 18, 1830. This was denied. Friends of Reynolds urged his claims on the ground that he

the pockets,"⁹⁷ and Reynolds was an adept at the game. Reynolds's strength was principally in the extreme southern, northern, and western parts of the state, and in the counties of Sangamon, Morgan and Macon.⁹⁸ At the same election Duncan defeated Sidney Breese and Edward Coles for Congress.

Although the ultra-Jackson men lost the governorship, they returned a large majority to the General Assembly. Senator McLean having died October 14, 1830, Governor Edwards appointed David J. Baker of Kaskaskia as his successor for the time being. The General Assembly refused to elect Edwards' choice, selecting in his stead John M. Robinson of White County, who was known to be an ultra Jackson man. Robinson was opposed by Thomas Mather, a well-known anti-conventionist of a few years before, a friend of Edwards, and later a leading Whig. At the same session Kane was re-elected to the senate for the term beginning March 4, 1831. There was certainly an Edwards party at this time,⁹⁹ and in the gubernatorial campaign of 1830 its opponents repeatedly went out of their way to assail Edwards instead of Reynolds.¹⁰⁰ The former was recognized as the force behind Reynold's candidacy. Thus the anti-Edwards members of the General Assembly showed their hostility to Edwards by selecting two of Edwards' ablest opponents for the United States Senate.

On January 3, 1831, the General Assembly nominated Jackson for re-election by a large majority.¹⁰¹ But nine votes were cast against the nominating resolution, three in the senate and six in the house. Although the opposition to the nomination was weak numerically, it stubbornly resisted the passage of the

was a "zealous advocate of the measures of the present administration, and of State Rights." See *The Crisis*, September 9, 1830. The report was widely circulated that the charge against Reynolds that he was friendly to Clay gave him the support of the anti-Jackson party, and hence elected him. See *Illinois Intelligencer*, September 4, 1830; *Cincinnati American*, September 20, 1830. Others would have it that Reynolds was elected because he favored the appropriation of money by Congress for internal improvements. See *Scioto Gazette*, September 22, 1830.

⁹⁷N. Pope to H. Eddy, September 23, 1834. (Eddy MSS.)

⁹⁸MSS. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois).

⁹⁹*Illinois Intelligencer*, July 24, 1830; Washburne, *Edwards*, 513.

¹⁰⁰Washburne, *Edwards*, 461.

¹⁰¹For the resolutions see *Senate Journal*, 1830-1, p. 170 ff.

resolution and in the end the dissenting members of the house recorded their protest upon their Journal.¹⁰² Nor was the opposition to the nomination sectional, for the nine members voting in the negative represented seven widely separated counties, namely, Pike in the north, Madison and Greene in the west, Randolph and Gallatin in the south, and Wabash and Clark in the east.

The presidential campaign of 1832 caused a further shifting of political lines. The contest in 1831 and 1832 between Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson for the nomination for vice-president on the Jackson ticket, is significant politically, for with Van Buren's selection in 1832, begins a split in the Jackson ranks that assumed large proportions in 1836, when Van Buren became the recognized choice of his chief for the presidency. Extremely radical Jackson men, such as A. P. Field, John Dement, Zadok Casey and Joseph Duncan, supported Johnson, while Van Buren's interests were in the hands of W. L. D. Ewing, Samuel McRoberts and other "whole hog" Jacksonites. This division of opinion was carried to the National Convention at Baltimore, where the Illinois delegation divided its vote between Van Buren and Johnson. Upon the nomination of the former, however, a great majority of the friends and supporters of Johnson gracefully accepted defeat and unqualifiedly supported the regularly nominated ticket: Jackson for president, Van Buren for vice-president.¹⁰³ Clay's candidacy received on the whole the regular anti-Jackson party strength.¹⁰⁴ There was an increase in the total number of votes cast in the presidential election of 1832 over the election of 1828, but this increase barely kept pace with the increase in population, and the distribution of the increased vote affected Jackson's relative strength in the state only a little more than one per cent. This

¹⁰²For protest see *House Journal*, 1830-1, p. 232 ff.

¹⁰³Field, for instance, voted, for Jackson and Van Buren. See *MSS. Election Returns*. (Court House, Vandalia.)

¹⁰⁴For accounts of Clay meetings see *Sangamo Journal*, August 2, 18, September 1, 8, 15, 22, 1832. There seem to have been no delegates from Illinois to the National-Republican Convention of 1831. See *Niles Register*, XLI., 301-7; *Cincinnati American*, December 23, 1830.

Despite Edwards' and Cook's support of Clay's American Policy in the twenties, Edwards refused to support Clay in 1832. He expressed a preference for McLean or Wirt. See Benton, *View*, I., 32; A. Cowles to J. Marshall, August 25, 1835. (Eddy *MSS.*)

lack of relative change in the position of the two parties seems to indicate one of two conditions: either there was a marked stability in the relative strength of the two parties, or the immigration into the northern counties offset the defection in the southern counties from the Adams-Clay forces.

Between 1832 and 1834 events moved rapidly. Jackson's hostile attitude toward the United States Bank, his insistence on Van Buren as his successor, and the extravagances of his advisers in demanding support for the president drove many of his old supporters into the ranks of the opposition. On the other hand, there were accessions to the Jackson ranks from the Adams-Clay elements. After repeated attempts to get office as opponents of Jackson, or at least as luke-warm supporters, more than one ambitious politician took up Jacksonianism in the most extreme form. On account of Jackson's popularity it became dangerous except in limited areas to denounce his policies. Men with ambition for office preferred to tolerate the Jackson administration,—kitchen cabinet and all,—rather than to risk their political success by speaking their mind.

During these two years the political alignments in Illinois underwent radical changes. The position occupied by the "milk and cider" Jackson element was not only illogical but untenable, and its ability to maintain itself as an organization depended entirely upon its coalition with the anti-Jackson forces. Its midway position between the radical Jackson faction on the one hand, and the anti-Jackson party on the other, made it a convenient and fruitful recruiting ground for the other factions and parties. The election of Jackson for a second term, which was a complete vindication for the affront offered him in 1825, served to cool the ardor of the more extreme supporters of the president, and bring them into more complete harmony with the members of the moderate Jackson faction. The intrusion of Van Burenism into national politics, and the dogmatic distribution of federal offices in the state by the administration, tended to force the luke-warm supporters of Jackson into the ranks of the opposition. During the period state issues grew in importance. The question of state banks and internal improvements engrossed the minds of the people to the exclusion of personal and national issues, and the seramble of party leaders to anticipate public opinion on these local issues, resulted in new and strange political alliances.

Other political forces were at work to change the old order of things. Before 1834, Edwards, Bond, Cook, and McLean were dead; Thomas, Phillips, and Sloo had removed from the state; Browne, Pope, and Smith were on the bench; and their places were filled partially by their lieutenants, partially by a younger and newer element that had little interest in keeping alive the factional disputes of an earlier period. A factor in causing a change was the constant shifting of the center of population northward. In time the representation of the southern counties, where the early struggles had been carried on, decreased; and with this decrease of relative strength in those sections and a corresponding increase in the northern counties where the newer elements were to be found, came a change in the nature of the politics of the state. With improved means of communication, diffusion of knowledge through the agency of schools, colleges, churches, and newspapers, a higher standard of living resulting from increased trade and diversity of labor, came a corresponding change in the political activities and ideals of the people.

These changes, however, caused new problems to arise. With the settlement of the northern counties there appeared a certain form of sectionalism based not so much upon a difference in birth and economic activities, as upon a lack of understanding between the sections. Prejudices were appealed to in both sections by unscrupulous leaders. The older settlers in the south were inclined to regard all the people of the northern counties as Yankees, and what they knew about Yankees was based generally upon what they had heard from the lips of political speakers. The northerners on their part, were prone to regard those in the southern sections as uncouth, illiterate, and lazy.

Despite the death of so many of the leaders of the struggles during the twenties, the changes due to economic and social causes, the shifting of the center of population northward, and the acute sectionalism that occurred, there is a marked continuity of political lines from the days of the territory down to and through the period when the Whig party contested with the Democrats for political supremacy. The anti-conventionists were on the whole made up of the Edwards faction plus the new comers in the northern counties, while their opponents in the slavery struggle were led at least by the leaders of the anti-Edwards faction. The bulk of the former supported Adams; of the latter, Crawford. After the elections of 1824, there appeared three distinct elements. One opposed Jackson's preten-

sions for the presidency; a second favored Jackson, but was unwilling to go to the length to which Jackson's managers desired; the third manifested a willingness to go to any extreme for Jackson. To the first element belonged very distinctly the new settlers in the northern counties, and many from the ranks of the Edwards faction; the second consisted of men possessing unsettled political convictions, made up in large part of members of the Edwards party; the ultra Jackson element coincided roughly with the old convention party. In time the position of the moderate Jackson element became untenable, and it was broken up, a part going into the ranks of the National Republican party, another part joining itself to the more ultra Jackson wing. This transition affected politics materially. The coalescing of the Jackson wings tended to render the ultras more moderate, while those Jackson men who went into the opposition ranks became radical anti-Jackson men.

Thus, beginning with the opposition to Van Buren in 1831, the anti-Jackson party received a constant stream of recruits from the Jacksonian ranks. Some of them were friends of the United States Bank, others were disappointed office seekers, and still others were radical opponents of Van Buren.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE WHIG PARTY.

1834-1839.

The fourth decade of the nineteenth century marks a turning point in the economic, social, and political life of the people of Illinois. During these ten years an enormous public debt was saddled upon the state in an unsuccessful attempt to create a vast system of internal improvements; the increase in population was three fold, made up in great part of immigrants from New England and New York, who brought in ideals of life differing somewhat from those which guided a majority of the older settlers; and, what is not less important, there gradually emerged from the clashing factions two distinct political parties that continued to divide the people for twenty years.

Coincident with this emergence came a state wide demand for internal improvements and state banks; and the unanimity of this demand partially hid political cleavages, and retarded for a time unqualified adherence on the part of individuals to one or the other political party. The people, in common with those in the older settled sections of the East and South, were vitally interested in national issues, but their struggle for economic and social freedom demanded and received the major share of their attention. Sectional differences, which were held in check during the boom days of the middle thirties, broke out later with increased fury when attempts were made to place responsibility for the failure of the banking and internal improvements schemes.

The Whig party solidified much more slowly than did its great rival. The various anti-administration elements that combined rather loosely during the first few years after the term "Whig" became a party appellation, had but one thing in common,—opposition to Van Buren. They differed over the tariff, the United States Bank, and national aid for internal improvements. One faction was enthusiastic for Clay, another opposed him with great determination, while yet another faction looked to Adams or Webster for political guidance. Fortunately for the

Whigs during these years, their opponents, who were in the majority, did not always agree among themselves; and by taking advantage of the divisions arising from these disagreements, the Whigs were able many times to guide legislation and give moral support to the party in the nation.

Throughout the years 1833 and 1834, Illinois politics were in a chaotic condition, due in part to disorganization among the anti-Jackson men, in part to the rapid disintegration of the "milk and cider" Jackson faction, and in part to mutual jealousies among the ultra-Jackson leaders. Jackson's veto of the bank bill, his order to withdraw the deposits, his opposition to federal aid for internal improvements, and his efforts to name Van Buren as his successor to the presidency caused a considerable defection from the Democratic ranks. These rapid and many sided transitions threw together voters that were but lately bitter political antagonists, and as was to be expected, there was a lack of mutual confidence and happy co-operation among them. Moreover, there were many minor differences that kept these heterogeneous elements from coalescing completely, while the principal, if not the only force, binding them together was a sort of common but ill-defined opposition to the national administration in general and to Van Buren in particular. There were to be found enrolled in the ranks of those opposed to the national administration, former ultra-Jackson men who had failed to secure what they considered adequate recognition in the distribution of offices, others who refused to support Van Buren, claiming that their allegiance to Jackson had ceased with his re-election in 1832, yet others who had become disgusted with the abuses and excesses of Jackson's advisers, and finally that large element which had been in opposition since the days of the presidential struggle of 1824 and 1825. Because of the personnel of the opposition, no one could estimate with any degree of certainty the strength of either the Jackson or the anti-Jackson party, and the leaders of the latter party moved cautiously and slowly, awaiting some test whereby the strength of their following might be ascertained.

During this period of political unrest occurred the gubernatorial campaign and election of 1834. For more than a year before the election, candidates for governor were being groomed by many newspapers and localities, each endeavoring to convince the others that its choice was the logical one. There was, however, a widespread demand that General James D. Henry offer

himself for the office,¹ but because of ill health resulting from exposure in Indian warfare, he declined the honor. After considerable manouvering on the part of prospective candidates and their respective friends, the field narrowed to four contestants: William Kinney of St. Clair County, Robert K. McLaughlin of Fayette, Joseph Duncan of Morgan, and James Adams of Sangamon.

Mr. Kinney was widely known throughout the state, having been lieutenant governor during the Edwards administration from 1826 to 1830, and an unsuccessful candidate for governor against John Reynolds in 1830. Early in 1834, Kinney was chosen as a candidate for governor in a convention held at Belleville, and immediately afterward he issued a long address "To the Independent Voters of the State of Illinois."² A few months later McLaughlin, familiarly known as "Uncle Mac," was named by a convention held at Vandalia.³ While McLaughlin was not so well known to the people as was Kinney, he was no stranger, for besides being state treasurer from 1819 to 1823 he had been prominent as a citizen of the state capital and a member of the General Assembly, and his relation to Duncan and Governor Bond added to his prestige. Duncan, who had been continuously in the National House of Representatives since 1827, was the choice of newspapers and politicians located in every part of the state, and from the very beginning of his active candidacy in 1833, his chances of success appeared to be better than those of his opponents. Little is known of Adams. He was a candidate for office both before and after this time and appears to have been uniformly unsuccessful. Of the four candidates, Kinney and McLaughlin were "whole hog" Jackson men, Duncan an "unreliable" Jackson man, and Adams an ultra anti-Jackson man.⁴

So far as the supporters of Kinney and McLaughlin were concerned, the term "unreliable" fitted Duncan's political affiliations exactly. They were thoroughly convinced that he was not a supporter of the national administration, even though he had been repeatedly elected to Congress as a Jackson man. At

¹*Alton Spectator*, March 18, 1834.

²*Alton American*, January 17, 1834.

³*Ibid.*, May 12, 1834.

⁴*Chicago Democrat*, July 23, 1834; see also *Alton Spectator*, May 8, 1834.

the beginning of his career in national affairs in 1827, Duncan was undeniably a radical Jackson man at Washington, and a loyal member of the "whole hog" Jackson faction in Illinois; but even as early as 1831, rumors of his defection from the party were rife; and by 1833 it was well known in many quarters that he was completely out of harmony with the administration, and especially with the president's unofficial advisers. This opposition to the administration is the crux of the entire controversy about Duncan's alleged defection from the Democratic party. The truth about the matter is that he never considered for a moment that he had changed his political position in the least, but rather did he consider that Van Buren and others had influenced Jackson to take a course contrary to that which he had entered upon at the beginning of his presidential career in 1829. Duncan had no quarrel with Jackson the man, and very little if any with Jackson the president; for the men around the president he had a mixed feeling of suspicion and contempt. True, Jackson had vetoed the bank bill, and had ordered the withdrawal of the deposits, but in either case Duncan was willing to believe that the responsibility for his act rested morally upon the president's official and unofficial advisers and not upon the president himself. Duncan's hostile attitude was very generally known in the better informed communities of the state, and in a surprisingly large number of cases it was endorsed by ultra Jackson men.⁵ Throughout the campaign Duncan remained in the East, sending from time to time, letters and addresses to the newspapers favorable to his candidacy,⁶ thus depending not upon a personal appeal to the voters but rather upon his congressional record and personal popularity.⁷

⁵Just how well Duncan's attitude was understood must necessarily remain conjectural. Different newspapers and localities regarded it differently. The generalization made here is based upon the following sources: *Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer*, April 3, 1834; *Sangamo Journal*, October 4, December 6, 1834; *The Western Hemisphere*, August 27, October 1, 1834; *Alton Spectator*, May 8, 1834; *Chicago Democrat*, July 23, August 27, 1834; *Chicago American*, July 23, 1834; A. F. Grant to J. Dement, June 26, 1833; J. Reynolds to A. F. Grant, February 17, 1834. (Eddy MSS.)

⁶*Alton Spectator*, March 4, 1834; *Chicago American*, July 23, 1834.

⁷See *Chicago American*, July 23, 1834; *Chicago Democrat*, September 17, 1834.

Duncan was elected by a substantial majority, being supported very generally by the anti-Jackson party, which gave surprisingly slender support to Adams; by the remnant of the "milk and cider" Jackson faction, most of whom were out of sympathy with Kinney and McLaughlin; and finally by a large number of the rank and file of the ultra Jackson faction, some because they had voted for Duncan for years and thus acquired the habit, others because of his clean public and brilliant military record, yet others because they did not know or did not believe the stories about his hostility toward the Jackson administration.⁸ The governor-elect carried, by a majority vote, all the counties north and east of the mouth of the Illinois River,—Macoupin, Sangamon, Montgomery, Coles and Shelby excepted,—the counties of Lawrence, Wabash, Edwards, White and Gallatin in the southeast, Alexander and Pope in the extreme southern part of the state, and Madison and Jackson in the southwest. In addition he carried by a plurality vote, Crawford, St. Clair, Coles and Sangamon counties. Although the Kinney strength was confined to southern Illinois, it was less sectional than that given Adams or McLaughlin. Adams' strength lay almost entirely within the counties of Sangamon and Tazewell, neither of which was he able to carry; McLaughlin's support was confined on the whole to Fayette and adjoining counties, and to the territory west of the Illinois River.⁹ Duncan's strength in such

⁸This generalization is based upon a careful study of election returns from typical counties, upon private correspondence of public men, and upon newspaper accounts. See *MSS. Election Returns* in Coles, Sangamon, Edwards, Macoupin, Fayette counties, Eddy *MSS.*; and the following newspapers for the years 1833 and 1834: *Alton Spectator*, *Alton American*, *Chicago Democrat*, *Chicago American*, *Vandalia Whig* and *Illinois Intelligencer*, *Illinois Advocate*, and *State Register*.

⁹The political nature of the McLaughlin support is not entirely clear. In Springfield the nine McLaughlin votes were divided among the other candidates as follows: For Congressman—Mills, 6; May, 3; for Lieutenant-governor—Archer, 6; Jenkins, 2; Evans, 1. *MSS. Election Returns*, Springfield (Court House). (Note: Speaking generally, May, Jenkins, and Evans were Democrats, and Archer and Mills were Whigs.) The same general distribution of McLaughlin votes occurred in Macoupin and other counties. See *MSS. Election Returns* in respective counties.

The confusion of this election is further illustrated by an examination of the votes of several men then prominent politically: S. Francis, editor of *Sangamo Journal*, voted for McLaughlin, Archer, and Mills;

anti-Jackson counties as Sangamon, Edwards, Coles, Morgan and Vermilion, indicates that the anti-Jackson people believed that Duncan was in sympathy with their cause. In the light of this election and Duncan's subsequent actions and utterances, one can say with a reasonable degree of assurance that Duncan was a Whig in principle at the time of his election as governor in August, 1834.¹⁰

The Jackson-Van Buren forces, however, were very generally successful in the election of 1834. Besides the lieutenant-governor and the entire congressional delegation, they elected a majority of the members of the General Assembly. Such results indicate conclusively that Illinois was still loyal to the president in spite of his insistence that Van Buren should be his successor, and of his hostile attitude toward federal aid for internal improvements and toward the United States Bank.¹¹

The Ninth General Assembly, which convened for its first session December 1, 1834, was composed of eighty-one members, of which number ten senators and eighteen representatives were unmistakably anti-Jackson men.¹² The retiring executive was a

Job Fletcher, for Duncan, Archer, and Mills; A. G. Herndon, for Kinney, Evans, and May; Peter Cartwright, for Adams, Jenkins and May; N. W. Edwards, for Duncan, Jenkins, and Mills; Bowling Green, for Kinney, Archer, and Mills. All the votes except that of Bowling Green may be found in Sangamon County Court House; that of Green in State Historical Library.

¹⁰It has seemed to the writer for some little time that Duncan ought to be classed in the *Illinois Blue Book* and other public documents as a Whig. Criticism of classification may be carried still further. It is the custom to class all the early state officers as Democrats in spite of the fact that many of them supported Adams in 1828 and Clay in 1832. The use of terminology has been abused in places where one would expect better scholarship to prevail. Thus newspapers have been called Whig as early as 1828 when the idea intended to be conveyed was that they were anti-Jackson.

¹¹William B. Archer, candidate for lieutenant-governor, came out squarely on a platform favoring the United States Bank, and the 8573 votes polled for him represent perhaps the approximate strength of the Whigs in Illinois at that time. *MSS. Election Returns, (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois)*; *Sangamo Journal*, August 2, 1834.

¹²First session: Senate—9 Whigs, 1 anti-bank Whig, 14 Democrats, 2 anti-Van Buren Democrats; House—14 Whigs, 4 anti-bank Whigs, 35 Democrats, 1 anti-Van Buren Democrat, 1 Bank Democrat. Second Session: Senate—9 Whigs, 1 Anti-Bank Whig, 13 Democrats, 3 anti-Van

Jackson adherent, less radical in his support of the president than were many of his colleagues but a true out and out Jackson man. He took the opportunity in what was his first as well as his last message to the General Assembly to denounce the United States Bank in no uncertain terms. He declared "That it has produced all the real and unreal disasters complained of in the commercial community—that it has interfered in the political elections of our country—corrupted the public press, and prostrated its legitimate purposes—thrown the gauntlets of defiance at the people of the nation—insulted them in the person of their venerable Chief Magistrate—perpetrated acts of bold and daring usurpation—violated the provisions of its charter—. . . That the exasperated managers of this institution are the authors of all the partizan strife and excitement which now convulse the country—. . ."¹³

Governor Duncan's attitude toward national affairs was much less radical than that which Ewing had taken. Without expressing any opinion whatever on the merits of the controversy between the United States Bank and the president, the governor-elect contented himself with merely analysing the functions of banking. For the president's disapproval of the bill for improving the Wabash River, Duncan had no words of censure. He believed that Jackson's opinions had been hastily formed, and that upon a more mature deliberation he would sign such a bill if the opportunity should offer.¹⁴ These references to national affairs by both governors are of the greatest political importance. While Duncan's utterances are rather colorless, those of Ewing reflected exactly the feeling of the party that was supporting Jackson and Van Buren. Besides, discussions of these utterances gave the General Assembly an opportunity to go on record for or against the national administration, and this record is the principal basis upon which a determination of political affiliations of this period must be made.

Buren Democrats; House—13 Whigs, 4 anti-bank Whigs, 36 Democrats, 1 anti-Van Buren Democrat, 1 Bank Democrat.

NOTE. It is impossible to give references to show the political affiliation of each member of this or other General Assemblies. To determine this point, newspapers, local histories, election returns, votes in the General Assembly on political issues have been used. See Appendix.

¹³*Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 13; *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 14.

¹⁴Duncan's message to General Assembly is found in *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 21 ff.; *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 25 ff.

A striking political characteristic of the early days of this session of the General Assembly, was the utter impossibility on the part of the leaders to determine the exact political affiliation of many of their colleagues. It is well known now that a majority in each house favored the national administration, yet on many of the most important legislative committees this majority had but a minority representation.¹⁵ Among the rank and file of the Assembly there was considerable uncertainty as to whom they should support for the United States Senate. Mr. Archer, who two years before had opposed resolutions upholding Jackson in his struggle with nullification, was supported by a mere handful of the more radical anti-Jackson men; the less radical divided their votes between John M. Robinson and Richard M. Young, both supporters of Jackson. Lincoln supported the latter, and ten years later in a warning to his party not to divide its strength by supporting its less objectionable foes alluded with a considerable feeling of regret to this support.¹⁶

Despite a failure of the minority in the General Assembly to unite on a candidate for the United States Senate, it was generally a unit on political issues; in fact the introduction of political issues, particularly those concerning national affairs, had a tremendous influence in crystallizing parties. When the majority attempted to put through a resolution endorsing Jackson's attitude toward the bank, the minority opposed its passage at every step.¹⁷ Even after the resolution was passed a counter one was introduced and supported to a man by the anti-Jackson members. Although unsuccessful in their attempt to put the General Assembly on record as favoring the continuation of the United States Bank, the anti-Jackson forces in the house succeeded in having passed a resolution which gave it as the opinion of that body that, "the establishment of a National Bank, with a branch in each state, by the consent or request of its Legislature, properly restricted and guarded in its operations, is neces-

¹⁵E. g. Senate Committees: Finance—Snyder, Taylor (Dem.); Mather, Mills, Bond (Whig). Judiciary—Ewing (Dem.); Edwards, Gatewood, Williams, Thomas (Whig).

House Committees: Finance—Whiteside, Hackelton, Link (Dem.); Ross, Moore, Webb, Blackwell (Whig).

¹⁶*Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 119; *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 142 ff.; *Alton Telegraph*, March 25, 1843.

¹⁷*House Journal*, 1834-5, pp. 214-17, 258-63. For vote on similar resolution in the senate, see *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 208 ff.

sary to establish a sound and uniform currency in the United States; and also to afford the necessary facilities to the General Government in transporting its funds."¹⁸ While the friends of the national administration as a party were naturally hostile to any kind of a national bank, a sufficient number in the house recognized the necessities expressed in the resolution and voted for it.

The two important state policies discussed and passed upon during this session were the creation of two banks, and provisions for securing money for a canal.¹⁹ In neither case was the vote on political lines. Of the twenty-seven members of the minority voting on the bank bill, thirteen voted for and fourteen against it. The support of the canal was not less general, and many of the most enthusiastic friends of that measure were from the southern part of the state.

On account of deaths and resignations the personnel of the second session of the ninth General Assembly, which convened December 7, 1835, was somewhat changed, but the ratio of the number of either party to the whole number of members remained practically the same.²⁰ On the third day of the session a resolu-

¹⁸*House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 356; *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 315 ff.

¹⁹For notice of internal improvements see *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 228 ff., 360 ff., 1835-6, p. 7; *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 225 ff., 378 ff. (Note.—House proceedings for February 4, 5, and 6, and for parts of February 3 and 7, 1835, are not printed in the *House Journal* of 1834-5. They are bound in *House Journal*, 1835-6, pages 373-414), 1835-6, p. 8; *Laws of Illinois*, 1834-5, p. 222, 1835-6, p. 145 ff.; Putnam, *Economic History of the Illinois-Michigan Canal*, 274-5; Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II, lxii ff.; Davidson and Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, 1673-1884, p. 478 ff.; *Chicago Democrat*, March 25, 1835, January 20, 1836, *passim*.; Douglas, *Autobiography* (Journal Ill. State Hist. Society), October, 1912, p. 341.

For a notice of state bank legislation see *Laws of Illinois*, 1834-5, p. 7 ff.; *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 360; *House Journal*, 1834-5, p. 512; Davidson and Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, 416 ff.; Knox, *A History of Banking in the United States*, 65; Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II, xii; *Annals of the West*, 779 ff.; *Chicago Democrat*, December 7, 1836; Dowrie, *Development of Banking in Illinois*, 59 ff.

²⁰Changes in Second Session: Senate—Fletcher (W) *vice* Taylor (D); Herndon (anti-Van B.) *vice* Forquer (D); Parrish (D) *vice* Will (D); Servant (W) *vice* Mather (W); Strode (D) *vice* Stephenson (D); Weatherford (D) *vice* Jones (W). House—Blackford (D) *vice* McHenry (D); Buckmaster (D) *vice* Thomas (D); Craig (D) *vice* Dough-

tion was introduced in the senate directing the United States senators from Illinois to use their influence in having expunged from the senate records the vote of censure against President Jackson for ordering the withdrawal of deposits from the United States Bank.²¹ In voting upon this resolution the Whigs did not hesitate to oppose Jackson and his bank policy; they voted ineffectually but solidly in the negative, not because of their great sympathy for the bank and the principles for which it stood, but rather to lessen Jackson's influence in general, and to minimize the influence of his endorsement of Van Buren in particular.²²

The most important political acts of this session were the seconding of presidential nominations, and the contest over party names. A senate resolution endorsing White for the presidency, and condemning the Van Buren party for assuming to deny to the Whigs the use of the name "Democracy" was introduced by

erty (D); Pace (D) *vice* Anderson (D); Porter (D) *vice* McGahey (D); Smith (D) *vice* Ficklin (W); Turney (D) *vice* Link (D); Wood (D) *vice* Rowan (D).

²¹For comment from western standpoint, see *Western Hemisphere*, May 21, 1834.

²²*Senate Journal*, 1835-6, p. 12, *passim*; *House Journal*, 1835-6, p. 62 ff. The transmission of these resolutions to the senators from Illinois—Robinson and Kane—gave Governor Duncan the opportunity of putting himself on record against the administration. How well he improved this opportunity is shown by his letter of transmittal: "This contest between the president and the senate, as a party measure, to my mind, is assuming the most alarming aspect; the one possessing all power, the fount of all honor, the dispenser of all favor, holding the absolute power over the will of one hundred thousand dependents, whose patronage makes him the idol of all the ambitious hungry office seekers in the land; the other having no benefits to bestow, no mercenary dependents wielding the press or the bludgeon in the defense, and required by the constitution to perform the odious duties of rejecting bad men from office, and resisting executive encroachment—in such a contest, unless the people rally to the defense of the senate who can doubt that the result will be total prostration." For Duncan's entire letter, see *Niles' Register*, L., 128; *Alton Telegraph*, March 9, 1836. It was during the debates over this resolution that the well known term "slasher gaff" originated. John S. Hacker, state senator from Alexander and Union counties, used the expression to indicate the extremes to which many of the followers of Jackson were willing to go in his support. See *Alton Telegraph*, December 14, 1836.

Mr. Davidson of White County. Its passage was by a bare majority, thirteen to twelve, all the Whigs voting in the affirmative.²³ The House, not to be outdone by the upper chamber, resolved that, "the false and arrogant claims of the Webster, White, and Harrison party, to the exclusive use of the ancient and honorable name of *Whig* was grossly unjust." The same resolution endorsed Van Buren's candidacy for the presidency. Being in a hopeless minority in the house the Whigs resorted to underhand parliamentary tactics. Attempts to make the resolution odious by saddling it with an amendment endorsing the convention system failed by a single vote. More drastic measures were then resorted to under the leadership of Webb and Lincoln; amendments, and amendments to amendments, dealing with the franchise, negroes, and pre-emption were offered; unsuccessful attempts to adjourn were made; impossible divisions of the question were demanded; and appeals from the decision of the chair were taken to the house. But the resolutions were passed despite such tactics, every Whig present except one voting against them.²⁴

In the appointment of directors for the State Bank of Illinois, and commissioners for the canal, party lines were rather strictly adhered to. Both banks had directorates almost unanimously Whig.²⁵ On the first canal board the Whigs were in the majority, and upon the re-organization of this board following the supplementary canal act of 1836 all its members were Whig. Opposition to the confirmation of several of these Whig appointees by Democratic members of the state senate, indicates that there was a feeling that the governor was partial to his political friends in making appointments. This, however, is but one instance of many, where the Whigs by the very force of enthusiasm and unity in the ranks and of ability in leadership, were able, although in the minority, to outvote their opponents by taking advantage of division in their ranks. This is well illustrated in the strenuous opposition in the house to the Van Buren resolutions already mentioned. It contrasts sharply to the indifference and demoralization of the Democrats in the senate when the anti-Van Buren resolutions were carried in that body

²³*Senate Journal*, 1835-6, p. 76 ff. For protest against resolution, see *Ibid.*, 355 ff.

²⁴*House Journal*, 1835-6, pp. 211-12, 233-40; *Senate Journal*, 1835-6, p. 175 ff.

²⁵*Reports of Committees (U. S.)*, 1836-37, III, 605 *passim*.

in the face of a Democratic majority of almost two to one. The explanation for such disorganization in the Democratic ranks between the years 1832 and 1836 is to be found in the opposition in that party to Van Buren.

The endorsement of White's candidacy by the Illinois senate in 1835, made him the logical candidate in that state of all the parties and factions opposed to the Van Buren candidacy. After the adjournment of the General Assembly, prominent anti-Van Buren men met at Springfield and formally nominated White for the presidency.²⁶ The same body appointed a committee to prepare an address to the voters of the state, and a little later Whig papers began to declare their adherence to the White cause by carrying at the head of their political columns the names of the five White electors, all of whom were anti-Van Buren Jackson men. Without a single notable exception all the Democratic papers of the state opposed White, declaring, as did many of the papers in Tennessee, that he had ceased to be an orthodox party man by his opposition to Jackson's choice for the presidency.²⁷ For the sake of consistency the anti-Van Buren Democrats, who refused to come out openly as Whigs even after White had been read out of the party by the papers of his own state, declared that he was no less a Democrat and Jackson man than was Van Buren, and that their support of the Tennessean against the "Little Wizard" was in no manner an indication that they were not true and orthodox Democrats.²⁸

For a year or more the campaign went on with the Van Buren Democrats opposed by a coalition of Whigs and White Democrats.²⁹ Murmurs of dissatisfaction arose after a time in

²⁶*Sangamo Journal*, June 20, 1835.

²⁷*Nashville Union*, May 17, September 15, 1836.

²⁸A. G. Herndon in *State Register*, June 19, 1840.

²⁹This opposition was called by the Democratic press, "piebald party." See *State Register*, October 14, 1836. The *Sangamo Journal*, mouthpiece of the Springfield "Junto," did not consider Harrison to be a candidate as late as May, 1836. "The attempt to cover up the political deformities of Van Buren with the cloak of General Jackson, is done with the sole and only purpose of taking advantage of the feelings of the old friends of General Jackson, who do not discover the trick played off on them. The contest is between Martin Van Buren, the northern candidate—and Hugh L. White, the Western candidate." Issue of May 1, 1836. Whigs looked with favor upon the split in the ranks of the Democratic party over Van Buren. It was expected that each faction would bid for the

the northwestern counties, which on the whole were Whig strongholds. These murmurs were for a time stilled by taking the name of Bowling Green from the White electoral ticket, substituting in its place that of A. G. S. Wight of Jo Daviess County.³⁰ Despite the good understanding among the various anti-Van Buren elements, there finally grew up a considerable Harrison sentiment among the Whigs that either refused to consider White as other than a Democrat, or failed to understand the significance of some sort of an agreement between their leaders on the one hand and those of the anti-Van Buren Democrats on the other. The culmination of this agitation for Harrison's candidacy was a Whig meeting held at Edwardsville in September, 1836. Not wishing "to distract the opposition to Van Buren" the meeting nominated "to the people of Illinois, the gentlemen named as electors of Judge White, relying upon them in the event of General Harrison receiving more votes in other states than Judge White, they will give the vote of this State to Harrison."³¹ At least three of the White electors—Bond, White and Wight—agreed to this proposition, and thereafter the White electoral ticket became generally known as the "Union anti-Van Buren Electoral Ticket."³² Governor Duncan's paper, the *Jacksonville Patriot*, suggested that each voter for the union

Whig vote. There seems to have been no widespread feeling in the ranks of the leaders that it would be advisable to support an out and out Whig candidate. See N. Pope to H. Eddy, February 16, 1835. (Eddy MSS.)

³⁰*Sangamo Journal*, April 9, 16, 1836; *Alton Telegraph*, April 13, 20, 1836.

³¹*Alton Telegraph*, September 7, 1836; *State Register*, September 2, 15, 1836. During the months of September and October, 1836, numerous Harrison meetings were held throughout the state and the White Electoral Ticket (now called Union Ticket) was endorsed. See *Alton Telegraph*, October 12, 1836, *passim*. In the western part of the state south of the mouth of the Illinois River there was a strong Harrison sentiment in July and August. See *Ibid.*, August 24, 1836, *passim*.

³²*Sangamo Journal*, October 1, 15, 1836; *State Register*, October 7, 1836. There was little uniformity in ticket headings. The following forms appear in a single issue of one Whig paper: "Union Electoral Ticket," "White and Harrison Electoral Ticket," "Union anti-Van Buren Electoral Ticket."—*Sangamo Journal*, October 29, 1836.

A similar union between White and Harrison was effected in other states. See *State Register*, September 15, 1836; *Alton Telegraph*, September 14, 1836.

ticket should designate his choice between Harrison and White, and that the union electors, if elected, should cast their votes for the candidate having the greater number of votes in the state.³³

The various suggestions by the newspapers and conventions as to methods of voting, and the absence of detailed election laws, combined to create confusion among voters, among election officials, and among the leaders of the anti-Van Buren party, so much so that the exact vote for Harrison, or White, in Illinois can never be known. There was no uniformity in voting for presidential electors. In some precincts voters declared for president and vice president without the intermediary of the electoral ticket; not infrequently a voter chose a presidential candidate from one ticket and a vice-presidential candidate from another,—an impossibility under the present law. As many as four ways of voting may be found in a single county, but if such lack of uniformity caused any comment or astonishment, it seems not to have been recorded.³⁴ Generally speaking there were three presidential tickets in the field: Van Buren and Johnson; Harrison and Tyler; White and Tyler. The last two tickets had the same set of electors. Despite the lateness of beginning the Harrison candidacy in Illinois, he was considered the principal candidate of the anti-Van Buren forces on the eve of the election, and was supported accordingly.

From newspaper comment, one is led to believe that the insistence of the Whigs on an open declaration for Harrison favored the Van Buren party. That Harrison was stronger than White outside the state, seems to have been the general idea in

³³*State Register*, September 15, 1836.

³⁴E. g., Macoupin County.

- (1) Woodriver precinct: Van Buren-Johnson; Harrison-Tyler.
- (2) Fork precinct: Van Buren electors; John Henry.
- (3) Otter Creek precinct: Wm. H. Harrison-John Tyler; H. L. White-John Tyler. (same electors); M. Van Buren-R. M. Johnson.
- (4) Carlinville precinct: Two sets of electors, with nothing to indicate for whom they stood.

MSS. Election Returns, Carlinville (Court House). There was a similar confusion in almost all the counties. See *MSS.* Election Returns, in Sangamon, Fayette, Edwards, and Menard counties. There was even more confusion in Coles than in Macoupin County. See *MSS.* Election Returns for that county.

Illinois, and on account of this feeling many original White men supported Van Buren rather than risk electing Harrison by voting the union ticket. On the part of the Whigs and their allies the battle cry was, anything to beat Van Buren, and had the Whigs been willing to give their united support to White, it is not at all improbable that Illinois would have declared against Van Buren in 1836.³⁵

Among the Whigs there was as yet little hero worship; the enthusiasm displayed in the campaign of 1840 was lacking in the Harrison-White-Van Buren contest of 1836. Instead of carrying on a brilliant offensive contest in which the opposition could be carried off its feet by the force of enthusiasm, the Whigs took the defensive, trusting for success to the lack of harmony among the Democrats. But despite the schism in the Democratic ranks the Whigs suffered general defeat in Illinois. The White-Harrison electoral ticket was beaten by a small majority. The Democrats had elected their Congressional candidates and a majority of each branch of the General Assembly.³⁶ For the Whigs, the one encouraging feature of the campaign and election was the generally good understanding among them about the selection of candidates for office. Hitherto the absence of any central authority, such as conventions, central committees, and correspondence committees, had resulted in a dissipation of party strength; but in the face of a situation in which division meant defeat, personal animosities and individual ambitions were very generally sacrificed for the good of the party. This tendency toward concentration of strength was real and encouraging, but it was being constantly opposed by a Whig characteristic that had a habit of cropping out inopportunely, namely, opposition to central authority. Such a characteristic, as we shall see later, was detrimental to the success of the party, and was strenuously opposed by Mr. Lincoln, who favored a convention system of some sort. The Whigs very generally professed to believe that

³⁵For charges made against Van Buren in this campaign as well as that of 1840, see post, 0000.

³⁶Political personnel of the Tenth General Assembly: First Session: Senate—18 Whigs, 20 Democrats, 2 anti-Van Buren Democrats; House—26 Whigs, 63 Democrats, 2 (Graham and Joseph Green) unknown. Second Session: Senate—17 Whigs, 20 Democrats, 3 anti-Van Buren Democrats; House—30 Whigs, 60 Democrats, 1 (Green) unknown.

Note—Gatewood changed from Whig to Democrat between sessions. See Appendix.

the convention was a Democratic device by means of which the leaders of that party were able to dictate to candidates and voters alike. Although they were divided upon the convention question, opposition to it became weaker as time went on until by 1842 it was a settled fact that the Whigs were wedded to the system in all its ramifications.³⁷

The Tenth General Assembly, which convened December 5, 1836, has since become famous for the political prominence which many of its members attained. Among the Whigs the best known figure was Abraham Lincoln. Less well known were Edwin B. Webb, Whig candidate for governor in 1852, Orville H. Browning, first Republican Senator from Illinois, Cyrus Edwards, brother of Governor Ninian Edwards and Whig candidate for governor in 1838, Richard N. Cullom, father of Senator Shelby M. Cullom, and Ninian W. Edwards, son of Governor Ninian Edwards, afterwards appointed state superintendent of public instruction by a Democratic governor. Opposed politically to this group were, Stephen A. Douglas, Augustus C. French, Democratic governor from 1846 to 1853, James Shields, who afterwards represented three different states in the United States Senate, John A. McClernand, noted Civil War general, John Dougherty, supporter of Lincoln in 1858 and Republican lieutenant-governor from 1869 to 1873, and Usher F. Linder, who became a Whig in 1840, but subsequently returned to the Democratic ranks and canvassed the state for Douglas in 1858.

Despite the presence of so many actual and prospective politicians in the General Assembly, the political significance of the first session is slight as compared with the session of 1834-5. Local matters distracted the attention of the lawmakers from national politics. Besides the internal improvement bill, which was passed as a sectional rather than a political measure, the question of the location of the state capital engrossed the attention of both houses during a great part of the first session, and a close study of the various votes leaves the feeling that many of the most able members concerned themselves more in getting advantages for their local constituencies than in attempting either to legislate for the good of the state or to go on record

³⁷For an account of the attitude of the Illinois Whigs toward the nominating convention system, see Thompson, *Attitude of the Western Whigs toward the Convention System* (Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, V., 167 ff.).

concerning national issues. In the house, however, a resolution endorsing Jackson's administration was passed by a large majority, many of the Whigs voting for it. Early in the session a Whig had been elected speaker of the senate, through a coalition of Whigs and anti-Van Buren Democrats; and the dissatisfaction among the Democrats in the senate may account for the non-political activities of the same party in the house.

There was a short extra session of the General Assembly in July, 1837, called by the governor to consider the difficulties that the state was having to meet its financial obligations. The panic of that year gave Governor Duncan an opportunity to express his opinion of the financial policy of the national administration, which he did in no uncertain terms. "At the time the President of the United States assumed the responsibility of ordering the public money to be removed from their legal deposit in the Bank of the United States, for the purpose, as he avowed, of preventing the re-charter of that institution by Congress, there never was a sounder currency, or a more healthy state of things in any government in the world." After showing the inadvisability of establishing the state banks, the governor went on to say, "Before the public were aware of the ruin which this wild scheme portended, the Executive and a portion of his party seeing their error it would seem, endeavored to escape the consequence by amusing the people with the absurd and impractical project of an exclusive hard money currency. . . . There must be change, there must be reform. The Public Treasury must be again firmly placed in the custody of law; and all power and control must be repudiated. . . . The patronage of the Executive must be reduced, and his power to remove public officers so modified as to prevent his displacing a faithful and competent man, either to gratify party malice, or to intimidate him in the free and independent exercise of the election franchise. . . . That control over the public press, and Congress which has been so powerfully exercised by the appointment of newspaper editors, and members of the Senate and House of Representatives to high and lucrative offices by the executive, should as far as possible be obviated." This utterance reflected the attitude of the Whigs in general and the late anti-Van Buren Democrats in particular. They had no quarrel with Jackson, but they refused to support Van Buren or to approve the acts of the president, which they considered to have been inspired by unscrupulous advisers. The Democrats on their side took the

opposite view. They endorsed *in toto* the policies of both Jackson and Van Buren, and the endorsement of the latter made a cleavage that unmistakably divided the Whigs from the Democrats.

The state campaign of 1838 differed from the campaign of 1836 in that the opposition to Van Buren was less evident. The Whigs and their allies had accepted Van Burenism as a calamity, but they preferred to work along other lines than those of general opposition. As yet, however, they hesitated to use the term "Whig" so as to include all elements opposed to Van Buren, and contented themselves with calling the former White Democrats, Conservatives.³⁸ In order to bring the supporters of the national administration into disrepute, the Whig newspapers stigmatized the general Democratic ticket as "Office Holders Ticket," giving the name "Peoples Ticket" to their own.³⁹ Political lines were more closely drawn and more easily recognized in 1838, than they had been at any time before; but even at that time the sharp demarcation that appeared in 1840, could not yet be seen. The Democrats thought to make a master stroke by nominating for governor a candidate from the extreme northern part of the state. Accordingly Benjamin Stephenson of Jo Daviess County was named as Democratic standard bearer.⁴⁰ Stephenson was charged with being a defaulter to the national government, and as a consequence was forced to withdraw from the race. A hastily reassembled convention named in his place Thomas Carlin of Greene County. The Whigs chose Cyrus Edwards of Madison County as their candidate. Edwards was a brother of Governor Edwards, and one of the most prominent men of the state. Generally speaking the issue of the campaign was internal improve-

³⁸*Vandalia Free Press and Illinois Intelligencer*, July 27, 28, 1838.

³⁹*Ibid.* The term used in parts of central Illinois to designate the alliance was "Anti-sub Treasury Ticket." See *Sangamo Journal*, 1838, *passim*. In some localities there were local issues of considerable importance, e.g., the division of counties, location of county seats. What will appear later to be of significance was an "anti-Junto" Whig ticket in Sangamon County. See *Illinois Republican*, July 25, 1838.

⁴⁰For many years the demand for northern representation in public office had been growing in both parties. As early as 1834 an effort had been made to allow northern Illinois one of the United States Senators. Until Ford was nominated for governor in 1842, all the candidates for that office had come from the southern counties. See *Sangamo Journal*, November 23, 1834.

ments.⁴¹ As we have noticed already, the Whigs in 1837 had favored abandoning the system. Edwards did not oppose internal improvements, but advocated the building of railroads with private capital.⁴² Edwards had the support of the Whigs and Conservatives, but because of his activities in the Lovejoy riots he was very generally opposed by those who had any leaning whatever toward abolitionism.⁴³ The election resulted in a Democratic victory. Not only did that party elect its governor and lieutenant-governor, but also two of the three members of Congress and a majority of the members of the General Assembly.⁴⁴

The state administration changed on the first Monday of December when Duncan surrendered his place to Carlin, who was in no respects the equal of his predecessor. The General Assembly soon busied itself with national affairs. Owing to the political shrewdness of Lincoln, Fithian, Edwards, Baker, and Du Bois, both houses adopted resolutions condemning an independent treasury and a metallic currency. From this time on the Whigs may be considered as a distinct party with a purpose

⁴¹For contrary view, see T. C. Browne to H. Eddy, February 10, 1838 (Eddy MSS.). There were, however, certain fundamental principles of a radical nature claimed by the more zealous Whigs. "WHIG POLICY: To provide a sound circulation medium for the people, and in quantity, adequate to the want of the country. To equalize the exchange of the country, so that a dollar in Illinois will be equal to a dollar in New York or *new-any-place-else*. To practice economy in the administration of the Government. To foster enterprise and industry in all classes of community—and regard merits wherever found—and thus to arrest THE DESOLATING EFFECTS OF A POLICY WHICH IS PASSING WITH A HURRICANE VIOLENCE OVER THE LAND. The Whigs would have the farmer obtain \$10 a barrel for his Flour, and that in money, which would be received by the Government for lands and other dues—\$20 a 'head' for his cows and for *asses* heads just what they are worth." *Vandalia Free Press and Illinois Intelligencer*, July 27, 28, 1838. See also *Sangamo Journal*, March 23, September 27, 1839.

⁴²Gillespie, *Remembrances*, 23.

⁴³*Emancipator*, February 15, 1838.

⁴⁴Political personnel of Eleventh General Assembly: First Session: Senate—20 Whigs, 19 Democrats, 1 anti-sub Treasury Democrat; House—41 Whigs, 2 sub-Treasury Whigs, 45 Democrats, 3 anti-sub Treasury Democrats. Second Session: Senate—No change from First Session; House—42 Whigs, 2 sub-Treasury Whigs, 45 Democrats, 2 anti-sub Treasury Democrats.

more consistent than those held by any of the factions and parties of which it was composed. The most revolutionary measure brought up in either house was that introduced by Mr. Ficklin, in which the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were endorsed, and the dry bones of Federalism rattled once more. This resolution, however, was laid on the table, and seems never to have been taken up. All this activity was but preliminary to the presidential campaign of 1840, which really began in 1839, when the Whigs, assembled in convention, gave an exhibition of enthusiasm and solidarity never before seen in that party, and which carried them to victory in the national elections.

Politics in Illinois during the period of the emergence of the Whig party, 1834-1840, was characterized, as has been shown, by considerable political confusion, due in part to the efforts of the state to establish adequate banking facilities, and to build a comprehensive system of internal improvements; in part to the absence of definite policies on which the Whigs could unite; in part to dissensions among the Democrats; and in part to the impossibility of determining exactly the party affiliation of political leaders. The instability of party lines and the lack of definite knowledge about political alignments are illustrated by the character of Duncan's support for governor in 1834. Men of all shades of political belief voted for him, evidently believing that he represented their views regarding national issues. Two years later the same indecision, while not so pronounced, was evident. Then, Whigs that boasted of their party orthodoxy, united in supporting White against Van Buren for the presidency, until Harrison became an active candidate. Apparently their platform was based on personal,—anything to defeat Van Buren,—and not on political grounds. Naturally party measures crystallized, and in the first Whig state convention in 1839, the Whigs found common political ground upon which they could oppose the Democrats.

CHAPTER III.

HARRISON AND TYLER.

1839-1841.

The campaign of 1840 was carried on by the Illinois Whigs with a great show of enthusiasm. Even before a Whig standard bearer had been selected, the members of that party had pledged their support in convention assembled to the future nominee. Van Buren was never popular in Illinois, and on that account the pre-convention campaign of the Whigs was marked by their attacks upon the president. Whoever the candidate of their party might be, they realized the importance of weakening Van Buren's cause in the state and deliberately set about to do it. Harrison's nomination by the Harrisburg Convention was the signal for outbursts of great enthusiasm by the Whigs. His military reputation was a valuable stock in trade in a campaign against Van Buren. Thus there were combined on the part of the Whigs great enthusiasm for their own candidate and a dogged determination to defeat his opponent; and this combination, which was to a degree accidental, brought about a flood of enthusiasm that swept cold deliberations aside and served to characterize the campaign of 1840. Both candidates were abused and charged with being connected with every unpopular movement of the day; and before election day the campaign resolved itself into a "mud slinging" contest. Although the Democrats carried Illinois, Van Buren's defeat made them sour and vindictive. Hitherto they had often divided over non-essentials in the General Assembly, with the result that the Whigs had been able to carry out their own policies. The defeat of 1840 brought them to their senses. Under the stress of preserving their party integrity, minor differences were for the time forgotten, and a united front shown to the enemy. Because of this changed attitude of the Democratic party, the activities of the 1840-1 session of the General Assembly differed materially from those of former sessions.

As early as January, 1839, opponents of the national administration held local conventions and mass meetings. On the 26th of that month the "Whig Young Men" of Springfield and Sangamon County met at the court house "for the purpose of organizing and future operation." These young men struck the key note of the approaching presidential campaign when in a preamble to a set of resolutions they said, "Whereas, the present alarming and dangerous situation of our national affairs, arising from the daring contempt of law and order that has been manifested in various parts of our Union,—from the unexampled corruption of unprincipled men holding high and responsible offices, embezzling the public money, producing enormous defalcations, and wresting hard earned savings from the hands of the people to gratify their own cupidity,—from the rottenness which seems to have tainted the whole system of the present administration, and from the reiterated attempts of the Executive to palm upon the nation a scheme which ought to be reprobated by every honest man, and every disinterested patriot; call loudly upon every individual who possesses any regard for the welfare of his country, to use the most strenuous exertions to promote its interest and maintain its honor."¹ In order to create enthusiasm it was decided to hold similar meetings throughout the county. Nor was organization to stop at the county lines. A correspondence committee and a committee on address were appointed, the one to correspond with young Whigs all over the state with the ultimate object of holding a convention, the other to set forth the cardinal principles for which the young Whigs of Sangamon County stood.²

About a month later the Whig members of the General Assembly met to discuss ways and means of organizing the party forces and carrying on the approaching presidential campaign. Henry I. Mills of Edwards County presided. Mr. Lincoln explained the object of the meeting, after which O. H. Browning of Adams County offered a set of resolutions that condemned the Democratic party in general and President Van Buren in particular. Lincoln offered a resolution providing for a committee to prepare an address "setting forth the causes of our opposition to the present administration, and recommend-

¹For complete report of this meeting see *Sangamo Journal*, February 2, 1839.

²For address see *Sangamo Journal*, February 9, 1839.

ing all the opponents of the Misrule of the Government to unite upon the platform of union and compromise." The most significant utterances were those in which the "Great Whig and Conservative parties" were called upon to oust Van Buren from the presidency, and that of Lincoln when he referred to "union and compromise." Apparently these utterances were a direct bid for the support of the dissatisfied elements in the Democratic ranks. Whatever the object in view, such an invitation gave the opportunity to these elements to join with the Whigs without becoming an integral part of the party. As might be expected under the circumstances, the best known leaders of the party took part in the deliberations of this meeting. Among these were Lincoln, Hardin, Davidson, Gen. James B. Moore, Thornton, A. Williams, Servant, Archer, and Churchill.³

It was the opinion of this meeting that no convention for nominating delegates to the National Whig Convention was necessary. By the middle of the summer, however, the *Chicago American* proposed that there be held at Springfield on September 2, a convention made up of delegates, one delegate to be selected in each county in convention assembled. This proposal was endorsed by the Whig press with the modification that the number of delegates be increased and all Whigs be invited to attend the convention. This modified proposal was popular, and in a great many counties conventions are known to have been held,⁴ and in them enthusiasm ran high. Less reserved than their senators and representatives had been in their meeting at the state capital, the people very generally demanded that Clay be the party nominee, but promised their support to any candidate that might be named. Denunciation of the national administration in the most bitter terms was in order at these meetings. At Belleville it was resolved, "That it is our deliberate opinion, that the policy of the present administration is calculated to corrupt the morals of the people; and sooner or later to destroy the liberties of our country, and that the sal-

³For full account of meeting see *Sangamo Journal*, March 16, 1839.

⁴The Whigs are known to have held conventions in the following counties: Logan, St. Clair, Menard, Sangamon, Hancock, Adams, Bureau, Peoria, Clinton and Tazewell. No doubt there were many more. For proceedings of county meetings see *Sangamo Journal*, March 3, August 9, September 20, October 4, 1839.

vation of all we hold dear on earth depends upon the union of the Whigs at the next presidential election.”⁵

The movement for a convention, which was begun by the press, culminated in the holding of a Whig State Convention at Springfield, Illinois, October 7-9, 1839.⁶ At the beginning of the first session, delegates from twenty-two counties were present. Later, others appeared and took their seats until at least half of the counties in the state were represented. Following the recommendation of a nominating committee, William Moore of St. Clair County was made permanent chairman of the convention, while Joshua Beal of Wabash and Robert A. Glenn of Schuyler were chosen secretaries. Because the National Whig Convention had not yet met, and because they feared to commit themselves in advance of the choice of that body, nothing more in the way of suggesting presidential candidates was done than to express entire confidence in both “Harries of the West,”—William Henry Harrison and Henry Clay,—and pledge the Whig vote of Illinois to the candidate to be named.

In sharp contrast to the actions of the national body, which met two months later, the state convention adopted a clean cut platform that expressed unequivocal opinions on both national and state issues. Van Buren’s administration was bitterly denounced, and the adoption of the sub-treasury system was called a “daring and dangerous attempt to concentrate all power in the executive—to unite in his hand the purse and the sword—to create two species of currency, *gold* and *silver* for pampered office holders and *rags* for the people, the laborers, and producers of the country: and that it will fasten a swarm of sub-treasurers as leaches on the public monies, whose security to the government after they are glutted, will be like that of Price and Swartwout—*leg bail* in a foreign land.” The president himself was denounced as an “artful politician and a selfish experimenter on the resources, credit and prosperity of the people.”

Concerning state issues the convention was no less emphatic in its denunciation of Democratic measures and policies.

⁵*Sangamo Journal*, August 9, 1839.

⁶*Sangamo Journal*, October 11, 1839. In the preamble to a set of resolutions offered by John T. Stuart the statement was made that this was the “*first* State Convention of the Whig party in Illinois.”

Carlin's administration was declared to be a failure and unworthy the support of the people, because of the "vacillation of purpose" of the governor. The state's banking system received special attention at the hands of the convention, which declared it a complete failure. This system had been originally supported by Democrats and Whigs alike, but now the latter party "disclaimed its paternity," citing the fact that the General Assembly which had authorized the existence of the banks was Democratic. Thus in convention assembled the Whigs repudiated state banking as it then existed, and denied all responsibility for its establishment.

In addition to denouncing the Democratic administrations, both national and state, the delegates re-affirmed the Whig doctrines as laid down by Clay and Webster, and pledged the party in Illinois to support the nominee of the approaching National Whig Convention. They chose delegates and substitutes to that convention,⁷ and five electoral candidates, all of whom were well known for their orthodox whiggery and campaigning ability. They instructed the electoral candidates to "address in person the people in different portions of the state on the subjects to be involved in that great contest."⁸

An examination of the personnel of the first Whig State Convention reveals the fact that its members were drawn from every element opposed to Van Buren and his administration; and the charge made by the Democratic press that the Whig party was made up of Clay men, bank men, anti-Masons, Abolitionists, old Federalists, and Federal-Whigs, seems to be not far wrong.⁹ At times these divergent elements had little in

⁷The delegates to the Harrisburg Convention were: *George W. Ralph, St. Clair; *Ezra Baker, Wabash; *William B. Warren, Morgan; William A. Minshall, Schuyler; *Walter L. Newberry, Cook.

Substitutes (corresponding in order named to delegates) were: Junius Hall, Madison; Q. C. Alexander, Fayette; Richard F. Barrett, Sangamon; *Edward A. Whipple, Tazewell; Daniel G. Garnsey, Rock Island.

Those marked with * attended the convention. See *Sangamo Journal*, December 24, 1839.

⁸See *State Register*, June 12, 1840; *Sangamo Journal*, December 20, 1839.

⁹*State Register*, January 1, 1840; *Illinois Republican* (Rushville) January 2, 1840; *Harrisburg (Pa.) Reporter*, December 6, 1839.

common, but with Van Burenism as the issue, as it was in 1840, they could and did unite temporarily against the common foe.¹⁰

That the Whig leaders dared meet their opponents in the open, and there discuss the issues of the day, is evidenced by the tone of a set of resolutions offered by Lincoln for the consideration of a meeting of the Whig members of the General Assembly. The day before, December 10, 1839, the Democrats assembled in state convention had denounced "whig individuals, whig policies and the Whig party," and to such denunciations Lincoln took exception. He challenged their authors to meet him and other Whigs at any place they might designate, and there to plead their respective causes before the people. The meeting adjourned until the next evening, at which time it reassembled and its members listened to a "speech" by A. P. Field, and appointed a committee composed of Hardin, Browning, and Baker to make arrangements with the Democrats for joint debate.¹¹

Illinois was fully represented at the National Whig Convention held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in December, 1839. From the beginning the Illinois delegates supported Clay, but on the last ballot they separated from their neighboring delegates and voted for Harrison, thus gaining the distinction of being delegates from the most southern and western state to support the nominee.¹² Although Clay was favored over Harrison by the Illinois Whigs, that party loyally accepted the verdict of the nominating body and entered the campaign with enthusiasm.

Harrison's nomination in December, 1839, was followed during the next spring and early summer by ratification meetings, both national and state. In a national ratification convention held at Baltimore in May, 1840, the Illinois delegation

¹⁰To give the names of all the prominent Whigs taking part in this convention is out of the question. There are some, however, that deserve mention. Among the accredited delegates were E. D. Baker and Josiah Francis of Sangamon; J. C. Howell of Macoupin; W. B. Warren and William Sergeant of Morgan; Joshua Beal and Ezra Baker, Jr., of Wabash; George Smith and William Otwell of Madison; Archibald Job of Cass. John T. Stuart was one of the leading spirits. E. D. Baker furnished the oratory.

¹¹*Sangamo Journal*, December 20, 1839.

¹²For account of the National Nominating Convention see *Monthly Chronicle*, I., 519.

was comparatively large and attracted considerable attention. Upon the Illinois banner carried in the ratifying procession were inscribed, "She will Teach Palace Slaves to Respect the Log Cabin," and "The Prairies Are on Fire."¹³ One of the largest meetings held in the West was the "Young Men's Convention, and Old Soldiers' Meeting", which convened at Springfield, Illinois, June 2, 1840. As the title indicates this was a union meeting. The old soldiers met in a sort of rally, while the young Whigs held a convention. Accounts of the meeting are conflicting, but it is safe to say that it was attended by thousands, with practically every county in the state represented. The resolutions passed are but reiterations of those already noticed. The meeting was intended primarily to create interest and enthusiasm for Harrison and it succeeded in a large measure. In addition it gave an opportunity to the younger element to assert its influence.¹⁴ The enthusiasm generated at this meeting spread very generally to all parts of the state. A great many counties held rallies in connection with barbecues, at which times the gathered assembly was addressed by Lincoln or one of the other candidates for presidential elector.

The Whig State Convention had provided for a state central committee composed of five members, whose duties were to stimulate county organization and direct its work. The members of that committee were A. G. Henry, E. F. Barrett, A. Lincoln, J. F. Speed, and E. D. Baker. Following the instructions of the convention this committee drew up a comprehensive plan of organization, which, with modifications, has done service many times since. By this plan the leaders expected to know with remarkable exactness the party affiliations of every voter in the state. This committee had the power of appointing county central committees, which in turn were to divide their respective counties into small districts and appoint in each a sub-committee. The sub-committee was instructed to make "perfect lists" of all the voters in their respective districts. Nor were the sub-committees to be satisfied with ascertaining their neighbors' party affiliations: they were urged to encourage all Whigs to keep in line, and to seek out wavering Democrats and try to

¹³Norton, *Revolution of 1840*, p. III.

¹⁴For account of this meeting see *Sangamo Journal*, June 5, 1840.

persuade them to support Harrison and Tyler.¹⁵ The circular embodying the plans of organization was intended for the eyes of good Whigs only, but thanks to the Democratic press it became public. Thereupon the Whig newspapers copied the circular and urged the acceptance of its provisions. "We call upon the Whigs in every county throughout the state to organize on the plan recommended in the circular. . . . If the villainous post masters have intercepted any of the circulars going to the several counties, the Whigs in each county are hereby requested to organize . . . and . . . rid . . . the country of the *corrupt horde of hireling office holders*, which are now, like hungry blood suckers, eating and stealing our substance."

Such methods characterized the presidential campaign of 1840. Not only was genuine and legitimate enthusiasm manifested, but extravagant and farcical pretensions were carried to an almost unbelievable extreme. Sympathies and passions were appealed to; the hospitality, unpretentious life, bravery, loyalty, and even the illiteracy and poverty of Harrison were cited and magnified by the Whigs in an endeavor to bring their candidate into sharp contrast with the cultured and cosmopolitan Van Buren.¹⁶ Songs, learned more quickly and remembered longer on account of their jingle than because of any sense they conveyed, were used to drown out any arguments that might be advanced by friends of the administration; pictures of log

¹⁵In Lincoln, *Complete Works*, I., 38-9, the circular is printed as having been written by Mr. Lincoln. The following is the way in which the circular became public: a copy was sent to John Wentworth, who published it in his paper, the *Chicago Democrat*, together with the following letter:

"Springfield, January 1, 1840.

J. Wentworth, Esq.—Sir: This letter [the circular] fell into my hands in a manner which I need not mention to you. It is well concocted, but it is hoped that their designs may be frustrated, by exposing their secretary at an early day.—It is printed in the form of a circular, and has the following endorsement: 'Don't forget to send Stuart a list of names, to whom he can send documents. Yours etc.

A. G. HENRY.'"

See *Sangamo Journal*, February 21, 1840.

¹⁶For an excellent account of the methods of Whig campaigning in 1840, see Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America*, III., 283 ff.

cabins and cider barrels¹⁷ in the immediate vicinity of the American flag floating from a tall pole spoke mutely but effectively of some subtle connection between the environment of the frontier and a love for the country's flag. If the Whigs began these nonsensical methods of getting votes, the Democrats were not slow to adopt them with certain modifications.¹⁸

As soon as the nominations of the respective national conventions became known, attacks were made upon the integrity, honor, and ability of the candidates, and these attacks in a short time descended to invectives without foundation. The president was charged with being a blue light Federalist in 1812; an enemy to Jackson in 1824; a supporter of a large standing

¹⁷An examination of western Whig newspapers leads to the conclusion that the use of cuts of log cabins, cider barrels, and flag poles was very general, and on account of their exact similarity in size, etc., they must have been stock cuts sold or distributed from some central agency. Compare *Sangamo Journal* and *Log Cabin Herald* (campaign paper published in Chillicothe, O.). The origin of the expressions having to do with log cabins and hard cider seems to have been in an effort on the part of the Democrats to make capital of Harrison's early poverty. In reply to such an accusation a Whig paper said: "We thank the enemy for giving us the LOG CABIN for our party EMBLEM. It is a most fitting illustration of our principles. It carries the mind back to a period of Republican simplicity, when our Rulers were faithful and honest. Fortunately our country is not so old in years, nor our People so enervated by luxury, as to forget their LOG CABIN origin. We all know that Patriotism resides among our yeomanry. The watchfires of Liberty are guarded and fed by the dwellers in Log Cabins. We are proud therefore, of the opportunity of supporting a Log-Cabin candidate for President. We joyfully accept the LOG CABIN as our COAT OF ARMS."—*Sangamo Journal*, July 3, 1840.

¹⁸For examples of typical songs sung during the campaign, see Norton, *Revolution of 1840*, *Sangamo Journal*, April 24, May 9, 1840. Both parties established campaign sheets, e.g. *Ball in Motion*, (Democratic) issued from office of *Chicago Democrat*; *Old Hickory*, (Democratic) issued from office of *State Register*; *Old Soldier*, (Whig) issued from office of *Sangamo Journal*. See *State Register*, February 5, 21, 1840; Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*, Index. One of the most effective Whig campaign stories was that told of Harrison's address to his old comrades when taking leave of them after the War of 1812. "If ever you come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and a knife and fork at my table, and I assure you that you will never find my door shut and the string of the latch pulled in." *Sangamo Journal*, May 9, 1840.

army; an abolitionist at heart; a friend and supporter of free-negro suffrage; a spendthrift; unfriendly to the West, to free labor, to catholicism and to white suffrage in some cases; bitterly opposed to federal aid for internal improvements; and finally with being uppish in his every day intercourse with his fellow citizens.¹⁹ A part of these accusations the Democratic press and politicians tried to refute; the rest were left contemptuously unanswered.

The Democrats on their part did not hesitate to turn like weapons against the Whigs. The result was that every act and utterance of Harrison was subjected to the closest scrutiny. First of all, it was charged that the Whig candidate was extremely senile. This charge the Whigs could not effectively disprove, but as if to render it inoperative they called upon the young men of the party to show their loyalty to the old hero. In addition it was urged that the candidate had not the ability to fill the office he sought, and as evidence to prove this contention pointed to his poor administration while governor of Indiana Territory. The strangest charge of all against the hero of Tippecanoe was that of military incompetency, and cowardice manifested in battle; strange because Harrison was in the minds of western people second only to Jackson in military ability and courage. What made the charge the more galling to the Illinois Whigs was the resurrection of an old accusation of this nature made by Governor Duncan, who had shared honors with Major Croghan in the heroic defense of Fort Stephenson. To the rank and file of both parties, however, this charge was preposterous and very generally unbelieved, despite the fact that the Democratic press reiterated it time and time again and brought forward rather good proof to support the contention.²⁰ To offset the prevalent opinion that Van Buren was not one of the common people, there was unearthed an old

¹⁹*Sangamo Journal*, October 8, 1836, January 19, March 30, December 27, 1839, May 9, July 10, 19, August 2, 14, 28, 1840. In some of these articles Van Buren's votes in United States senate, his message to Congress, Clarke's *Report of New York Convention*, and Holland's *Van Buren* are cited as evidence. The Whig press was adept in making such charges effective. In giving a two column account of the new furnishings in the White House, French names were uniformly given to articles whenever possible, even though they were of domestic manufacture. See *Sangamo Journal*, August 2, 1840.

²⁰*State Register*, October 30, 1840.

vote of Harrison's in the Ohio legislature, which seemed to put him on record as favoring property qualification for voting and imprisonment for debt. Because the entire procedure was susceptible of double interpretation the charge did little more than to cloud the real issues of the campaign.²¹

The greatest disability under which the Whigs worked, was the widespread belief that Harrison had a leaning toward the abolitionists. The Whig press and party organization recognized the danger of allowing such a charge to go unrefuted, and consequently nothing was left undone to convince Illinois voters that Harrison did not belong to that sect "of misguided philanthropists."²² Letters from the state organization with their replies from Harrison or his managers were printed in the Whig papers with the declaration that the Ohio man was a safe candidate; and this was no doubt true, for a study of these letters indicates that Harrison was satisfied with conditions, and desired to see no change whatever in the domestic affairs of any state, unless undertaken and carried out by that state itself.²³ Although the Whig leaders failed to prove conclusively that their candidate was untainted with abolitionism, the effect of such charges on the minds of the voters was more than neutralized by the widespread rumors that Van Buren was an out and out abolitionist, and that he was only waiting for an opportunity to declare his position.²⁴

Much has been said and written about the failure of the National Whig Convention of 1839 to promulgate a platform of principles upon which to base their claims for political sup-

²¹See *State Register*, September 31, 1839.

²²*House Journal*, 1838-9, p. 170.

²³See Harrison to T. Sloo, *Sangamo Journal*, June 11, 1840; Harrison to H. Alexander, *Ibid.* April 24, 1840; Harrison to A. G. Henry, *Ibid.* July 17, 1840. See also *State Register*, September 21, 1839, (quoting from *Indiana State Register*, and *Boston Globe*), July 17, 1840. For report of Harrison's Cheviot speech see *Sangamo Journal*, June 11, 1840. In an address said to have been delivered at Vincennes in 1835 Harrison said: "Am I wrong, fellow citizens,, in applying the terms weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional to the measures of the emancipation?" In a letter written the same year Harrison is said to have declared that Congress had no right to abolish slavery in any state, and only in the District of Columbia on the consent of Virginia and Maryland. Speeches in *Congressional Globe*, VIII, (Appendix), throw light on this subject.

²⁴*Sangamo Journal*, December 27, 1839.

port, and the generally accepted idea is that such failure was due to the knowledge among the leaders that no declaration of principles could be made without alienating one or more of the conflicting factions that went to make up the opposition to Van Buren. The Whig party in Illinois was not unlike the national organization in that it was made up of widely divergent elements, yet in the state convention of 1839, as has been seen, the Whigs came out openly upon issues that could not be mistaken, and a little later they declared their willingness to discuss them before the people in joint debate. There was a tendency, however, to inject personal abuse even when real issues were under discussion. The so-called "declaration of Harrisonian Principles" were thinly disguised attacks upon the Jackson and Van Buren administrations, and a discussion of them often partook of the nature of personal attack. In the hands of skillful campaigners these principles were practically irresistible, for even the Democratic leaders could not deny their applicability to a republican form of government.

First of all came the declaration that Harrison favored the proposition to make the president ineligible for re-election, and in proclaiming this doctrine the Whigs naturally applied the corollary that the incumbent of the office carried on the administration of the government in the interest of his re-election, and more specifically that Jackson had done so, and that Van Buren's whole term of office had been shaped with that object in view. Secondly, the Whigs raised the cry "back to the Constitution," charging Van Buren and his advisers with having perverted that instrument for their own benefit. Accompanying these declarations were demands for rigid accountability of public officers, more freedom by the states in administering their domestic affairs, freedom in election for public officials, a stable and uniform currency, and finally the demand for federal encouragement of American manufactures, and a restoration of confidence and credit throughout the land. In addition, any increase in the standing army, or the enactment of any enlistment law embodying the conscription feature, was condemned.²⁵

Although the Illinois Whigs declared for a protective tariff, they did not press it on the voters as a vital issue during the campaign of 1839-40, apparently for the reason that the people

²⁵For a list of these principles see *Sangamo Journal*, July 24, 1840.

of Illinois naturally favored a moderate tariff of the type of the one of 1846. Instead they relied for success on persuading the voters that Harrison was their logical candidate, and that Van Buren was unworthy of re-election.

A prominent characteristic of the presidential campaign of 1840, was the use, or rather misuse, of epithets to designate parties, factions and cliques. The Whigs were called bankites, wigs, wiggies, wiggles, Federalists, blue lights, and Abolitionists; while the Democrats, much against their wish, were stigmatized as Locofocos, Van Burenites, Tories, and Abolitionists. In the case of the Whigs, they hated above all the appellation, Federalists, for it was generally believed that the roots of the Whig party extended into the anti-Jeffersonian party of 1800, and to the mind of the ordinary voter of Illinois in 1840, opposition to Jefferson in 1800 and to Madison in 1812, was unpardonable. The Democratic press, recognizing that this was the most odious of all the terms applied to the Whig party, very generally refused to call its opponents anything but Federalists, and worked industriously to fasten the idea in the minds of the people that there was little difference between the Federalists and the Hartford Convention on the one hand, and the Whig party on the other. The Whig press and speakers very generally used the term locofocos to designate the Democratic party, and by its use hoped to convey a general idea of disgrace or perfidy, but its use could scarcely have affected the outcome of the election. Of all the terms used to designate the Whig party, the Whigs themselves preferred to be called anti-Van Buren, while their opponents clung tenaciously to Democrat or Democratic for themselves.

Something has been said already about the abolitionist movement and its effect upon this campaign, but an enlargement of that subject at this time seems appropriate, for of all the issues discussed, it was the most dreaded by the leaders, the least understood by the rank and file, and its influence the most difficult to trace. The leaders and press of each party fully realized the political value of proving that the opposition was in league with the abolitionists, and consequently the most extravagant and absurd stories were circulated to show the friendly attitude of one or the other candidate toward the movement to free the slaves. Harrison was charged with "double dealing," that is, with expressing sympathy with the

abolition movement in New England, and at the same time pretending to the southerners that he favored a continuation and extension of the slavery system.²⁶ Van Buren came in for similar denunciations, but the Democratic party organization in the state was too strong to allow any considerable defection from the party on this account. John Tyler, the Whig nominee for second place, escaped any such criticism, which Richard M. Johnson, who was the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, came in for considerable censure because of the widely circulated story that he was married to a negro woman. Despite the unpopularity of the abolitionists, and the great reluctance of either party publicly to claim their political support, the political leaders in Illinois made an effort to poll the abolition vote for their respective candidates, with the result that the Whigs secured the major portion of such vote, not because the Whigs as a party were more favorable to anti-slavery than were the Democrats, but rather because a majority of the Illinois Abolitionists had formerly been Whigs, and gave nominal allegiance to that party in political matters; and what is more significant there is little evidence to show that such abolitionists felt the necessity at that time of appealing to the ballot for redress of what they considered primarily a social and religious wrong.

That Jackson's influence in Illinois politics existed long after he had retired from public life, is fully attested by the endeavor of each party to claim Jackson as a supporter for its candidate. The Democratic leaders laid stress on the fact that Van Buren had been Jackson's choice in 1836, and with this as a premise argued that a vote against Van Buren in 1840 would be an affront to "Old Hickory." The Whigs, on the other hand, claimed that the administration of Van Buren had been so radically different from that of Jackson, that the Tennessean actually repudiated the "Little Wizard" as his disciple. To help Harrison it was pointed out, and with considerable truth, that the training, ideals, and capacities of the "Hero of Tippecanoe" were not at all unlike those possessed by the "Hero of New Orleans" at his accession to the presidency in 1829, and

²⁶E.g. "In all the New England States he [Harrison] is an Abolitionist of the first water. In Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and all the other slave-holding States, he is represented as a whole-hog slaveite—one who is for slavery in every form." *State Register*, July 17, 1840.

all the arguments used by the Jackson adherents in 1824 and 1828, to further the interests of their candidate were revived and put into use by the Whigs for Harrison's benefit in 1840.²⁷

During this political campaign there cropped out a charge, which was made by the Democratic press, that there existed at Springfield a Whig Junto, not unlike the "Albany Regency" or the "Richmond Junto." It was asserted repeatedly, and never was it successfully contradicted, that this self-appointed, dictatorial body asserted its power even in the selection of Whig candidates for county offices in some of the more important counties. Mr. Lincoln, who was pointed out by the Democratic press as leader of this clique, vehemently denied that there existed such a body, called the editor of the *State Register* a liar, but, so far as is known to the writer, he brought forward no evidence to prove his contentions. Whatever the merits of the controversy may be, it cannot be denied that Lincoln, Stuart, W. H. Herndon, Logan, Baker, and other Springfield Whigs possessed an influence in the councils of the party out of all proportion to their numerical strength, but it is perhaps not too much to say that this influence was based entirely on superior political ability, for the Whigs of Jacksonville, Alton, Chicago, and Galena were too numerous and had too much ambition to have given up the party leadership on any other ground.²⁸

In the August election of 1840, the Democrats succeeded in electing fifty-one of the ninety-one members of the lower house of the General Assembly, but this success was in no wise indicative of what might be expected in the November election,

²⁷The Whig organization, however, was unable to prevent certain members of that party, who were fanatical anti-Jackson men, from attacking the "old hero" unmercifully. Mr. Hodge, editor of the *Free Press*, is reported to have said late in the year 1839, "It is time the eighth of January was stricken from the calendar of Festivals. I firmly believe that if the British had burned and pillaged New Orleans, it would not have been so great an injustice to the country as the effect (of) General Jackson's administrations have been, and will be for generations to come." Quoted in *State Register*, September 7, 1839. Particular stress was laid upon the statement that Jacksonianism and Van Burenism were entirely different. see Hales' *Memoirs*, I., 278; *Sangamo Journal*, November 7, 1836; T. C. Browne to H. Eddy, February 25, 1840. (Eddy MSS.)

²⁸For a thorough discussion of the Springfield Junto together with specific charges of political dictation, see *State Register*, November 23, 1839, *passim*.

for the apportionment under which members of the General Assembly were elected was that of 1836, since which date the Northern counties, which were supposed to be Whig, had received a very large immigration from the older states and from Europe. An examination of the election returns shows a marked sectional aspect. With the exception of Madison County and four counties bordering on the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, the whole southern part of the state south of the mouth of the Illinois River was solidly Democratic. In addition the Democrats carried the greater part of the Military Tract, a tier of counties adjoining Sangamon on the east and south, and the district along the route of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The Whig strength lay principally in the districts adjoining Indiana, in Sangamon and adjoining counties, and in the extreme northwestern part of the state.

As the campaign drew to a close, enthusiasm grew beyond reasonable bounds. Both sides threw away whatever common sense arguments they had prepared; charges of contemplated election frauds were freely made on each side; the Van Buren administration was branded with maladministration; the private lives of many prominent state politicians were carefully scrutinized and exposed to ridicule by hostile editors, who were adepts in such kinds of attacks. The candidates for electors in particular canvassed the state with as much earnestness and enthusiasm as if they were seeking the most important state offices;²⁹ and the last issues of the papers of each party warned the reader of the most diabolical plots to "thwart the sovereign will of the people;" and prophesied that the most dreadful disasters would befall the country in case the candidates of the opposing party should be elected.

The Van Buren electoral ticket was successful, but only by a small majority of two thousand out of a total vote little short of one hundred thousand.³⁰ This large vote, which was almost

²⁹The Democratic electors in 1840 were: Adam W. Snyder, J. P. Walker, John A. McClernand, John W. Eldridge and James H. Ralston.

The Whig electors were: Samuel D. Marshall, Edwin B. Webb, Abraham Lincoln, Cyrus Walker and Buckner S. Morris.

³⁰Total vote cast was 93,514; number of votes cast for Van Buren electors, 47,631; number of votes cast for Harrison electors, 45,574.

(NOTE. In these totals each party is credited with the vote of its highest elector.) MSS. Election Returns, (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

three times as great as that cast for the presidential election in 1836, ten per cent greater than the entire vote cast for governor in 1842, and only some ten per cent less than the total vote for presidential electors in 1844, is evidence of the enthusiasm of the campaign, and the successful efforts of both organizations in bringing to the polls the full party vote.³¹

An examination of the few election schedules now intact indicates the strength of the defection from the earlier Jacksonian ranks due to various causes, particularly to the unpopularity of Van Buren and his administration.³² This loss, however, was more than offset by the heavy Democratic vote polled in the section in which the foreign elements had settled, and along the line of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. On the other hand, the Whigs received the unanimous support of the Mormons who had but recently come into the state from Missouri, with this exception, that they substituted the name of James H. Ralston, Democratic electoral candidate, for that of the Whig candidate, Abraham Lincoln. To this they were instigated, it was charged at the time, by Stephen A. Douglas.³³ Both before and after the election, charges of fraud were repeatedly made against both parties, particularly against the Whigs, who were charged with importing voters from Missouri, Iowa, Indiana, and Kentucky, but on account of the general

³¹Despite the loss of the state to Van Buren, Illinois Whigs rejoiced exceedingly in national victory. Henry Eddy, who was conservative to a marked degree, gave way to his feelings thus: "Glory enough for one day, or one year, or ten years. The spoilers are driven from the capital, and honest public servants will be installed on the 4th day of March, next. Never despair of the republic after this. The people, though slow to wrath, are terrible when aroused by 12 years maladministration." H. Eddy to J. Raum, November 9, 1840 (Raum MSS.)

³²Among other prominent men in Springfield the following voted for Harrison: William L. May, (Former Democratic Congressman); Enoch Moore, (Private secretary to Governor Ford); Ninina W. Edwards, (A prominent Jackson man in 1834); A. P. Field, (A typical "whole hog" Jackson man in 1824); Thomas C. Browne, (Jackson supporter in 1824). MSS. Election schedules. (Sangamon County Court House.)

MSS. Election Schedules in the following counties bear out this conclusion: Fayette, Coles, Macoupin, Edwards.

³³For further information about the Mormons' support of the Whig ticket, see Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II., lxxx, *passim*. *State Register*, November 27, 30, 1840.

success of the Democratic ticket in the state, these charges were never pushed, and the Whigs on their part, not having the machinery of government, were able to do nothing more than to charge unofficially that they had been defeated by unfair methods.³⁴

The real beginning of the struggle over the foreign vote in Illinois was in the gubernatorial election of 1838. The term foreign, as used at the time, had a double meaning, and as a result confusion has arisen. To many it simply meant citizens of other states who had not resided within the state the necessary six months, which, by the constitution of 1818, gave them a right to vote. To others the word foreign applied exclusively to all persons not born within the jurisdiction of the United States. According to the general practice members of either class voted at all elections after having lived the prescribed half-year within the borders of the state. The Democrats had elected Carlin governor in 1838, but only by a very small majority, and the charge was freely made by the Whigs that his election had been made possible by the vote of the canal laborers. In this case the foreigners were in the main citizens of other states who had not acquired franchise in Illinois by the proper length of residence.³⁵

The other and more important aspect of the foreign vote entered into the election of 1840. By this time it was estimated that at least ten thousand voters of European birth claimed Illinois as their homes.³⁶ There were those who contended that the residence requirement for voting as laid down by the constitution of 1818, was meant to apply only to citizens of other states, and with this interpretation granted, a great number of foreigners of legal age would have been denied franchise. Despite their denials, the Whigs as a party were inclined to look with disfavor upon foreigners voting, not because they were more of a native American party than were the Democrats,

³⁴*State Register*, November 13, 17, 1840.

³⁵Eastern papers took notice of the canal laborers voting the Democratic ticket in 1838 and 1839. Ignoring the real contentions in the case the *State Register* took occasion to say, "This is the old leaven of Federalism, drawing distinction between the 'educated' dandies travelling for 'recreation' and the hard working men in the 'canal ditches of Illinois.' The dandies are 'for Clay'; well so be it." Issue of October 19, 1839.

³⁶Ford, *History of Illinois*, 215.

but because it was evident that a large part of the foreign vote was Democratic. Hence a test case which was brought up in the circuit court of Jo Daviess County, in 1839, gave a precedent for excluding from the franchise all who were not citizens of one of the American states. A little later the case was appealed by interested Democrats to the State Supreme Court, and placed upon the calendar for the June term, 1840.

Beginning at this stage of the procedure the political aspect of the case became more and more prominent. All the judges of the State Supreme Court were Whig except T. W. Smith, and even his Democratic orthodoxy was questioned by the party leaders. Professing to believe that the decision would be given on a strict party vote, Douglas, who was the leading attorney for the Democrats, succeeded in getting the case continued to the December term, 1840, and thus postponed final decision until after the August and November elections.³⁷

Another political controversy, one that had considerable effect upon the election of 1840, was that occasioned by the attempt of the state administration, which was Democratic, to oust A. P. Field, who was a bitter Whig partizan, from the office of secretary of state. In 1829, Governor Edwards had appointed Field to the office he now held, and he continued in office without re-appointment through the following two administrations and into that of Governor Carlin. With Carlin's election as Governor, he began an agitation to replace Field with a Democrat. Accordingly, the governor appointed John A. McClernand to the office, sent his name to the senate for ratification, but that body resolved by a vote of twenty-two to seventeen that the nomination be "not advised and consented to."³⁸ Toward the close of the session Carlin sent in a second nomination. Many of the senators, among whom were prominent Democrats, declared that this second nomination "under the circumstances was an indignity offered to the Senate." The nomination was rejected by the decisive vote of twenty-two to fourteen. Afterward the governor sent in a protest against the course of the Senate and requested that the same might be spread upon the journal. This request the senate refused, but allowed

³⁷Spaggins v. Houghton. For reasons for continuing the case until the December term see *Illinois Reports*, III., 211 ff. For final decision see *Ibid.* 377 ff.

³⁸*Senate Journal*, p. 151 ff.

him to withdraw his protest.³⁹ After the General Assembly adjourned, the governor took advantage of the situation and appointed McClernand secretary of state *ad interim*, but Field refused to give up the office. Then followed a heated legal contest in which the State Supreme Court sustained Field. This victory was gained, however, at considerable expense to the Whig party. The court was under suspicion, and its decision for the Whig claimant seemed to the majority of Democrats conclusive proof of the court's partiality and partisanship.⁴⁰

At the special session of the General Assembly 1839-40, the Democrats made another attempt to oust Field by limiting and defining the length of term to which a secretary of state might be appointed, but the measure failed of passage by a strict party vote. A few days later Governor Carlin sent to the senate the name of Stephen A. Douglas for secretary of state, but this nomination was rejected by a vote of twenty-two to eighteen and at the same time the governor was censured for assuming that he had the right to appoint a secretary as long as the office was already filled. This censure, although made from the standpoint of political expediency, expressed a real line of difference between the Whigs and Democrats. The former claimed that as long as there was no vacancy in the office of secretary of state, no new appointment could be legally made. The Democrats, on their part, contended that as the secretary was merely an attachee of the governor's office, and in many respects his right hand man, it was eminently proper that each new state executive should be allowed to choose whom he would intrust with the affairs of his office. From the standpoint of political theories and the constitution, the Democrats argued that the Whig interpretation virtually made life officers, while the Whigs argued that the secretary of state had been intended by the framers of the Constitution to be a check on the governor's administrative acts, and not to be merely his confidential clerk and irresponsible tool.⁴¹

³⁹*Sangamo Journal*, March 9, 1839; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 213.

⁴⁰The case had been decided against Field in the circuit court presided over by a zealous Democrat, Sidney Breese. Field expected Breese to hand down an adverse decision, and was prepared to appeal the case to the supreme court. See A. P. Field to H. Eddy, May 26, 1839. (Eddy MSS.)

⁴¹Ford, *History of Illinois*, 213. The *Missouri Republican* went to the extreme, declaring: "It no doubt would be very convenient in these

The contest over the secretaryship had an important bearing on the election of 1840. Leaving aside the merits of the case, it was the poorest kind of a policy for the Whigs to contend that an appointive officer held office during his own pleasure, for in so doing they were running counter to the basic political principles of the great majority of the people in the Middle West. Field was in derision called King Alexander I, and the Democratic newspapers using as a hypothesis the Whig contention, that Field could not be ousted, built up the most absurd arguments to show that the opposition favored removing the choice of public officers from the hands of the people, and persuaded many to believe them. The Whigs, on the other hand, could advance nothing but technical arguments to support their contention, and, as was to be expected, arguments of such a nature fell to the ground. Everything considered, it appears that the Whigs were handicapped by Field, by their hostility to foreigners, and finally by the State Supreme Court, for neither Field nor the court was popular. Moreover, the Whigs as a party were opposed to the foreign vote, and, despite their professions to the contrary, this opposition was generally known to the foreigners and their friends.

On account of deplorable financial conditions due to the collapse of the internal improvement scheme, and to the suspension of specie payment by the state banks, the newly elected General Assembly was called together in special session,⁴² the meeting taking place two weeks before the regular session should convene pursuant to the constitution, on the first Monday in December, 1840. The house organized by electing William Lee Davis Ewing speaker over Abraham Lincoln, by a strict party vote.⁴³ In the senate the Democrats were in the majority by almost two to one, and that body, like the house, organized

days to Loco foco speculation and fraud for a Governor, who wishes to CHEAT a State, or ROB her treasury, to have at his back a secretary who would do just as he might be bid." *State Register*, September 7, 1839.

⁴²The special session met November 23, and adjourned December 5. This seems to have been the only time in Illinois history when a special session preceded a regular session of the General Assembly. It is held in some quarters at the present time that such could not be legally done under the Constitution of 1870. There is no evidence at hand to show that there was any doubt as to the legality of such an act in 1840.

⁴³Ewing, 46 (including Lincoln's vote) ; Lincoln, 36 (including Ewing's vote) ; nine members not present (5 Democrats, 4 Whigs).

on party lines.⁴⁴ The two weeks' special session was taken up in devising ways to minimize the evils resulting from the suspension of specie payments and from a depreciated bank currency. In spite of the fact that a Democratic legislature had chartered the two state banks,⁴⁵ the State Bank of Illinois, and the Bank of Illinois, that party now turned its fury upon these institutions, not because it, as a party, was opposed to state banks in general, but rather because it claimed, and with some justice, that from the beginning both banks had been administered by Whig officials to the detriment of the Democratic party as an organization, and to its members as individuals. A law of 1839-40 had authorized the suspension of specie payment until the adjournment of the next session of the General Assembly, provided no legislation was enacted upon the matter during that session; and in an attempt to continue a legalized suspension into the year 1841 the Whig members of both houses concerted to prevent *sine die* adjournment of the special session. In order to carry out their designs many of both houses not only absented themselves during the last day of the session in the hope that adjournment would be prevented by lack of a quorum, but also a few of the senators went to the extreme of threatening the sergeant-of-arms of the senate with bodily injury should he attempt to serve warrants in an effort to compel attendance.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Democratic, 26; old members, 12; new members, 14; Whig, 14; old members, 9; new members, 5.

⁴⁵"At the last session of the Legislature of this State, the proposition to create the present bank was brought forward by the friends of the administration. . . This favor [government deposits] it is thought our State has some reason to expect; she has always been foremost in sustaining the measures of the administration." N. L. May to L. Woodbury, July 20, 1835 (*Committee Reports*) (U. S.), 1836-37, III., 608. See also *Ohio News* (Hillsborough, Ohio), September 13, 1839; *State Register*, September 14, 1839.

⁴⁶Joseph Gillespie in his *Recollections* says that Lincoln and others leaped from a window in order to break a quorum in the house. Mr. Gillespie is supported in his statement by the editor of the *State Register*, (See issue of December 11, 1840) who states emphatically that he was an eye witness of the occurrence. According to the *House Journal*, Mr. Lincoln was present and voting on the question of adjournment. The editor referred to above makes a similar statement. One wonders why Mr. Lincoln leaped after voting. If he leaped before voting did the house clerk with or without the knowledge of the speaker make the

Of the legislation enacted during the regular session of the General Assembly which convened December 7, 1840, two acts deserve special mention on account of their political significance. Despite the hostile attitude of the Democrats as a party toward the state banks, a sufficient number of members of that party united with the Whigs to give a new lease of life to those institutions, by allowing them to continue the suspension of specie payments, to issue notes of small denomination, and to charge an interest rate of nine per cent on notes of a certain nature.⁴⁷

The Democrats very generally believed that the supreme court, which was composed of three Whigs and one Democrat, was partisan in its decisions, and because of this belief they determined to change the political complexion of that tribunal by appointing a sufficient number of new judges to make it Democratic. The enacting of such legislation was prolific of the most bitter political quarrels. Mr. McClernand, of the house, declared emphatically that the court had been prevented from giving a decision hostile to the foreign vote at the previous June term only by a technicality, but this charge was denied by all the judges. In addition, he produced evidence of a more or less questionable character to prove that the decision of the court sustaining Field in his refusal to give up the secretary's office was made upon the basis of political expediency. Other Democrats made long and acrimonious speeches in which the Whig party in general and the Whig members of the Supreme Court in particular were the object of bitter attack. It must not be thought, however, that the Whigs were either intimidated or convinced of their error in opposing a reform of the judiciary.

journal show that he was present? These and many other questions arise in connection with the episode and deserve attention at the hands of local historians. See *State Register*, December 11, 18, 25, (issued December 23 but bearing the date 25); *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 80; *Senate Journal*, 1840-1, pp. 47-8; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 226; Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, I., 442. On Sunday, December 6, the day after the incident referred to, Dr. William Fithian, who was at the time a member of the General Assembly and an eye witness, wrote to a friend at Danville, giving minutely a description of the scenes enacted in the two houses, but he said nothing about Lincoln jumping from the window in an attempt to break a quorum. See W. Fithian to A. Williams, December 6, 1840. (Williams-Woodbury MSS.)

⁴⁷*Laws of Illinois*, 1840-1, p. 40 ff. For protest by certain Democrats against its passage see *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 538 ff.

Led in the house by Lincoln, Hardin, Archer, Gillespie, and Webb, and in the senate by Baker, Churchill, Cullom, and Davidson, the struggle was carried on against an uncompromising majority; and a study of the speeches delivered by the leaders of each party, and reported *verbatim* in the Springfield newspapers, leaves the impression that open hostilities were narrowly avoided.⁴⁸

The judiciary reform bill,⁴⁹ which provided for the abolition of the office of circuit judge, and for the election of five additional supreme judges by the General Assembly, passed by a large majority in the senate, and by a vote of 45 to 43 in the house. Every Whig present voted against its passage, while Gatewood, Slocum and Warren of the senate, and Able, Blackman, Dougherty, and Hicks of the house, all Democrats, voted with the Whigs.⁵⁰ The Council of Revision, which was composed of the governor, and justices of the Supreme Court, refused its assent to the bill,⁵¹ but the dominant party, not to be thwarted in its desires by the very body that it was trying to reform, passed the bill over the veto, Mr. Lincoln and thirty-four other members of the house entering upon the *Journal* their protest against its passage.⁵²

⁴⁸There are indications that this contest over the judiciary gave opportunity for many members of the General Assembly to express their contempt for political opponents. The *lie* was repeatedly given, and an invitation to settle differences according to the code of honor would have occasioned no surprise, in fact it seems to have been expected in some quarters. See *Sangamo Journal*, *State Register*, *Alton Telegraph*, *Chicago Democrat*, and *Quincy Whig* for months of December, 1840, and January, 1841.

⁴⁹Called "puppy court" bill in derision. See *Illinois Republican*, February 27, 1841.

⁵⁰*Senate Journal*, 1840-1, p. 148 ff.; *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 311.

⁵¹For opinions of the judges on the constitutionality of the bill, see *Senate Journal*, 1840-1, pp. 257-72. Governor Carlin's opinion is not given.

⁵²According to the constitution of 1818, a majority vote of the entire number of members elected to each house was necessary to pass a bill over the veto of the Council of Revision. Such a majority in the house was 46. The bill had previously passed by a vote of 45 to 43, but in the vote to pass the bill over the veto of the council Mr. Busey of Champaign, who had not voted when the bill was passed the first time, voted in the affirmative. See *House Journal*, 1840-1, pp. 266, 311. In *Illinois Republican*, February 27, 1841, the statement is made that Mr. Busey was prom-

On November 30, 1840, Governor Carlin nominated Stephen A. Douglas to be secretary of state, and asked the senate to confirm the nomination, which was done, all the Whigs voting in the negative.⁵³ Although Mr. Field's intentions regarding a judicial contest for the office have been variously interpreted, it would seem that he did not give up hopes of being able to be reinstated by the Supreme Court, until it became evident that that body would be reorganized, for it was not until January 27, 1841, nearly two months after the nomination of his successor had been confirmed by the senate, and after it was clear to all that the political complexion of the judiciary would be changed, that he formally handed his resignation to the governor.⁵⁴ This

ised the clerkship of Champaign County for his affirmative vote on the judiciary bill. In the campaign for the presidential nomination in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt's Columbus (Ohio) address was contrasted with the above protest in order to show that he was out of harmony with Mr. Lincoln's attitude toward the sacredness of the judiciary. Considering the circumstances surrounding the protest there is nothing to indicate that it was anything more than an attempt on the part of the Whigs to put themselves decisively on record against a measure that they thought would prove unpopular with the people. See *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 540 (last paragraph). There seems to be no doubt that the Whigs were obstructionists during the entire session. Their victory in the nation in 1840 caused the party to have an exalted opinion of itself. See W. Fithian to A. Williams, December 6, 1840. (Williams-Woodbury MSS.), *Sangamo Journal*, January 29, 1841. Even before the passage of the Judiciary Bill a Democratic Caucus seems to have chosen the five new judges required by the contemplated bill. See W. Fithian to A. Williams, February 14, 1841. (Williams-Woodbury MSS.)

⁵³*Senate Journal*, 1840-1, p. 31.

⁵⁴Field's resignation was addressed to Governor Carlin, and reads as follows:

"Sir:—I take this occasion to tender to you my resignation as Secretary of State. This step is taken, on my part, with the sole view of placing my conduct in a proper light. It has been said since the confirmation of Mr. Douglas's nomination, that I would still contend for my right to the office. I assure you sir, such a thought never entered my mind, and I take great pleasure in saying, that so far as your conduct is concerned, I left the office satisfied with your conduct toward me." *Sangamo Journal*, January 29, 1841; *State Register*, February 5, 1841. State Senator Gatewood sent the above resignation to the governor with an accompanying letter in which the latter was taken to task for his repeated attempts to assert the right to appoint and remove officers without the consent of the

acquiescence in superior force and numbers, and perhaps in justice, came too late, however, to be of any political advantage to the Whigs. Had Field been willing to allow his successor to be named two years before, it is not without the range of probability that the Whigs could have overcome the two thousand odd majority against them in 1840, for his deliberate attempts to defeat the will of the executive were unpopular.⁵⁵

In many respects the year 1840 was the high tide in the life of the Illinois Whigs. It is true that they were beaten in both the August and November elections, but under normal circumstances they would have won the latter and perhaps the former. The presence of the foreign vote and the unpopularity of Field's claim to be a perpetual state officer more than offset the strength gained by a display of unparalleled enthusiasm for a distinctly western candidate, who made a particularly strong appeal to the voters of Illinois. Especially was this true because of the fact that his opponent was Van Buren. The latter was never popular in Illinois, and but for good party discipline in the Democratic ranks his vote would have been smaller than it was. It would appear that the Whigs lost their greatest opportunity to put Illinois in the Whig ranks when they failed to carry the November election. Never again was so much enthusiasm displayed in any one campaign, not even when Clay himself was the candidate.

The presidential campaign of 1840 was the high water mark in the history of the Illinois Whigs. Beginning with the first Whig state convention in 1839 and extending over a period of almost a year to the November election of 1840, they displayed an enthusiasm unequalled during any other period of their history. In spite of this enthusiasm, however, and in spite of the marked ability of their leaders, they lost the state to the Democrats by a small majority. This loss was caused largely by the insistence of the Whig leaders that Alexander P. Field, secretary of state, could not be ousted by the governor, and by

senate. As soon as Field resigned his friends united in asking President-elect Harrison to appoint him to any office he (Field) might desire. A. P. Field to H. Eddy, January 18, 1841. (Eddy MSS.)

⁵⁵Although such a conclusion can never be more than speculative and in this particular case may be erroneous, it was the opinion of acute Whig observers that Field's persistent claim for place in an administration with which he was out of harmony was detrimental to the party's interest.

widespread feeling that they were opposed to the foreign vote. The views of the Whigs in both cases were generally unpopular among the voters.

Neither party was satisfied with the outcome of the election. The Whigs professed to believe that the Democrats had carried the state by fraud, while the Democrats charged the Whigs with having carried the nation by unscrupulous misrepresentation of the issues involved. Such was the feeling among the leaders when the special session of the General Assembly convened in November, 1840. The Whigs were in the minority, and following the practices of the preceding session, they obstructed Democratic legislation whenever possible.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTIONALISM AND STATE ISSUES.

1841-1845.

During the half decade ending with the year 1845, the attention of the people was distracted from matters purely political by the pressure of local issues that had arisen during the late thirties.¹ The failure of the internal improvements scheme, with the accompanying debt; the lack of banking facilities and an adequate medium of exchange; the efforts of the people in the southern counties to prevent the completion of the Illinois-Michigan Canal with state funds; and social disorders, particularly in Hancock and adjoining counties, all combined to minimize interest in national politics. These local issues brought prominently to the front sectionalism, which during the previous decade had been lost in the hysteria caused by the anticipation of the rapid economic development of the state. Even in the excitement of the campaign of 1844, the people were primarily interested in those national issues which were most directly connected with their own particular problems.

As soon as it became evident that the finances of the state were in disorder each party hastened to disclaim any responsibility for such a state of affairs.² Although the Whigs had never had a majority in any session of the General Assembly, they were charged by the Democrats with being responsible for the evils that had overtaken the state;³ and the justification for

¹This statement is based upon an examination of newspapers both Democratic and Whig. Papers printed in the southern parts of the state gave a large amount of space to the public debt, those in the northern parts to the canal, and those in the central and western parts to the Mormon question. In all parts of the state a popular subject for discussion was repudiation.

²For specific claims, see *Quincy Argus*, *Alton Telegraph*, *Sangamo Journal*, and *State Register*, for the months of August, September, and October, 1839.

³In the sessions of 1834-5 and 1836-7, a coalition of Whigs and anti-Van Buren Democrats in the senate outnumbered the Democrats.

such a charge lay in the fact that the Whig press, during the time when internal improvements and state banking seemed likely to succeed, claimed that the Whig party had fathered the schemes, and that it was entitled to credit for their initiation and development. Such claims had been based primarily upon the desire of the Whigs to gain political support for their activity in securing what a great majority of the people wanted. Another reason for such a claim was the ignorance on the part of the press as to the political affiliation of the members of the General Assemblies that had authorized internal improvements and state banking. Members whose political predilections were uncertain were claimed or rejected by either party depending on whether or not they were on the popular side of legislation.⁴

By 1842, the Democrats possessed a clear majority in each house of the General Assembly, and to them as a party the people rightfully looked for legislation that would bring relief to the burdened state. In this they were handicapped by division in their own ranks.⁵ Many of the members of that party had no sympathy with any plan whereby the state should pledge another dollar for completing the canal, nor were they prepared to agree to tax the people in order that the interest on the public debt might be paid. To a less degree the Whigs were divided over the same issues. To say the least they were obstructionists, and with the assistance of discontented Democrats they presented a formidable opposition to any legislation that might increase the popularity of the Democratic party. Both parties disclaimed any intention to support the principle of repudiation, yet neither would agree to attempt to tax the people sufficiently to pay even the interest on the public debt.⁶ Leaders of all shades

⁴See *Senate Journal*, 1837, p. 97; *Sangamo Journal*, March 23, September 27, December 17, 1839; *State Register*, September 14, 21, 1839; *Ohio News*, September 13, 1839; T. C. Browne to H. Eddy, February 1, 1838. (Eddy MSS.)

⁵The Democrats were divided into two large groups, the conservatives and radicals. The people in the extreme southern part of the state were opposed very generally to any proposition that would provide for the interest on the state debt by taxation. Those in the military tract were inclined in the same direction. See Ford, *History of Illinois*, 305 ff.; *Alton Telegraph*, January 27, February 10, 1844; *State Register*, and *Times* for December, 1843, and January, 1844.

⁶Such an attitude is illustrated by the convention that nominated Snyder for governor. See *Niles' Register*, LXII., 274; *State Register*, December 17, 1841.

of political belief professed to regard the state banks with suspicion and contempt, yet none of them could deny that these institutions had suffered irreparable damage from having been drawn into party politics. Under such circumstances it is surprising that the General Assembly legislated as well as it did. Many of its members followed a policy of sacrificing the interests of the whole state for the benefit of a section, while others embraced the opportunity of catering to a narrow sectional feeling in order to increase their own political prestige.

The issues upon which the gubernatorial campaign of 1842 were joined were colorless, to say the least.⁷ Neither party had a program, and the tocsin of battle was scarcely more than a reverberation from the clash of 1840.⁸ The Democrats, strictly orthodox, held a convention and chose Adam W. Snyder of St. Clair County, as their standard bearer.⁹ A majority of the Whigs appear to have desired a nominating convention, and one was actually called, but feeling it unwise to allow the clashing elements from the northern and southern parts of the state to meet and air their grievances to the delight of the Democrats, Lincoln, Davidson, Thornton and other prospective candidates withdrew their claims, leaving the field to ex-Governor Duncan, who was chosen by common consent as the Whig candidate for governor.¹⁰ In May, 1842, Snyder died, and a little later

⁷According to a newspaper report Duncan outlined his policies to a committee of Coles County citizens as follows: (1) opposed to sale of state bonds to complete the canal; (2) took a stand against the issuance of bonds for any purpose; (3) opposed the payment of interest on public debt by direct taxation; (4) declared for completion of canal, and gave it as his opinion that it ought to be completed by the National government. See *Illinois Republican*, March 26, 1842.

⁸Ford, *History of Illinois*, 291. The only additional issue of any note was Tylerism. On the whole the questions discussed in the campaign of 1840 were raised to the exclusion of all others, with the exception that the abuse heaped upon Harrison two years before was omitted.

⁹Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder in Illinois History*, 384-5; *State Register*, December 17, 1841.

¹⁰For information concerning the call for a convention and the discussion of the various candidates, see *Illinois Republican*, October 30, November 27, 1841, March 26, May 7, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, May 21, June 11, August 1, October 22, December 3, 1841; *Alton Telegraph*, October and November, 1841, May 13, 1843; W. H. Davidson to H. Eddy, June 30, 1841; O. H. Browning to H. Eddy, November 8, 1841, (Eddy MSS.); Thompson, *op. cit.* 177 ff.

Thomas Ford of Ogle County, who was a half-brother of George Forquer, a close friend of Governor Edwards, and at the time of his nomination a judge of the State Supreme Court, was chosen in his stead.¹¹ Both candidates professed to believe that provision ought to be made for paying the state debt, but neither did nor could make any definite promise of procedure in case of election. In the southern parts of the state Ford was accused of wishing to cede to Wisconsin the territory lying in the fourteen northernmost counties of Illinois; in the northern part the Whigs kept alive a story to the effect that he opposed the completion of the Illinois-Michigan Canal.¹² Duncan was an old campaigner, never having lost a political battle up to this time. It must be said, however, that despite his sterling qualities, he was less popular than he had been before he became governor in 1834. In addition there was the unfounded report that he was indirectly responsible for certain defalcations that a member of his family had made.¹³ The Mormons declared for Snyder, and afterwards for Ford. This declaration the Whigs attempted to use as capital for securing the anti-Mormon vote.¹⁴ The election was a Democratic victory; Ford was elected by a majority of only a little less than eight thousand, and the General Assembly was safely Democratic.

Carlin's administration as governor had been both unpopular and weak. He had taken office just as the internal improvements and banking bubbles were breaking. Had he been a popular leader results might have been different. The party was divided over both local and national issues; young and enthusiastic partisans like Douglas, Trumbull, McClernand, and William "Jeff" Gatewood had little regard for precedents and past performances. In addition the governor had been compelled to carry on a long and acrimonious struggle with the senate over the appointment of a secretary of state.¹⁵ The legislative branch of government, while it included in its ranks men of ability and statesmanlike qualities, had spent a great part of its time in

¹¹*State Register*, June 10, 1842.

¹²Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II., xxxvi.

¹³Duncan's brother-in-law, William J. Linn, defaulted to the United States for a considerable sum of money. Duncan was his bondsman and in settling with the government he lost almost all his large fortune.

¹⁴See *Illinois Republican*, April 2, 1842.

¹⁵See *ante* 80 ff. for history of the struggle.

jockeying for position in future political races. Throughout the entire four years of Carlin's administration scarcely a single enactment had looked forward to an amelioration of conditions. Instead of making an attempt to put a stop to useless expenditures, and to provide for the payment of interest on the state debt by some sort of taxation, the members of the General Assembly had openly countenanced a policy of borrowing still larger sums, the greater part of which had gone to pay interest. Accordingly the public debt had mounted higher and higher until the annual interest charges exceeded a half-million, while the ordinary annual expenses of conducting the state government exceeded the income from taxation by something like forty thousand dollars.¹⁶ The banks, which had been established with the idea of furnishing a sound and adequate medium of exchange, were in a precarious condition.¹⁷ Their bills were worth less than face value and were unacceptable to tax collectors;¹⁸ and there was scarcely a half-million dollars of good money in the hands of the people.¹⁹

The Thirteenth General Assembly met December 5, 1842. If all the members of the senate, several of whom were subsequently unseated, be counted, thirty-two were Democrats and fourteen Whigs.²⁰ Of the one hundred and twenty-one members of the House, the Democrats numbered eighty-four, the Whigs

¹⁶The state debt in December, 1842, is given by the House Finance Committee as \$12,328,096.69, to which should be added the amount due the United States government and the amount of state bonds held by the two state banks, making in all \$15,471,895.69. See also *London Times*, December 8, 1842; *Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 22-23; *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 20 ff., 1842-3, p. 16 ff.; Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, I., 52-3; Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II., liii.

¹⁷After suspension of specie payments soon after they opened their doors, the banks finally suspended operation in 1842. Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II., xliii; Dowrie, *Development of Banking in Illinois*, 104 *passim*.

¹⁸*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 19; *Niles' Register*, LXIII., 67, 165.

¹⁹*House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 44.

²⁰The apportionment act of 1841 provided for forty-one senators and one hundred and twenty-one representatives. Altogether as many as forty-six senators took part at some time during the session. Four were unseated, one of whom was re-elected during the session to fill an unexpired term of a member who had resigned.

thirty-seven.²¹ Thus on joint ballot the Whigs were outnumbered more than two to one. As was to be expected, both houses were organized on strict party lines. Other than the election of a United States senator and various state officers, all of whom were Democratic, the General Assembly gave comparatively little attention to matters of a purely political nature. The messages of both the outgoing and incoming governors laid stress upon the necessity of immediate legislation regarding the public debt, the state banks, and the canal. In his valedictory message Carlin made a vicious attack upon the banks, and the attack was received with unveiled satisfaction by that element of the Democratic party which was determined to destroy what it called nests of Whigism.²² Ford took a conciliatory attitude. He pointed out the desirability of putting both banks into liquidation with the least possible delay, keeping in mind, however, that those institutions had certain rights and privileges which must be respected. Ford was supported in his attitude by a majority of his own party. The Whigs were inclined not to commit themselves, preferring to await developments. They had sectional interests to protect, but what was far more important to them as a party, they were in a position to throw their weight where it would count most. They hoped that the majority would hopelessly split over a bank bill, with the result that they would hold a balance of power.

The governor himself drew up a bank bill putting the State Bank into liquidation.²³ In the house the measure passed by an almost unanimous vote, but four members, all Democrats, voting

²¹If a contemporary newspaper account can be relied upon, the General Assembly contained 113 farmers, 18 lawyers, 8 mechanics, 6 physicians and 2 clergymen. The same source distributes their nativity as follows: Kentucky 32, Virginia 25, New York 13, Tennessee 11, Massachusetts 10, Pennsylvania 10, North Carolina 10, South Carolina 8, Ohio 6, Maryland 5, New Jersey 5, Connecticut 5, Georgia 3, Maine 3, New Hampshire 3, Indiana 3, Illinois 3, Missouri 2, Alabama 1, England 2, Ireland 2, Germany 2.—*Alton Telegraph*, January 28, 1843.

²²It is safe to say that a majority of the officers and directors of both banks were Whig. It was charged, however, and there seems to be some truth in the charge, that the banks supported Ford in 1842. See *Alton Telegraph*, April 1, 1843. *Reports of Committee* (U. S.), 1836-37, III., 610 *passim*.

²³Ford, *History of Illinois*, 303.

in the negative.²⁴ During the twelve days' interval between the passage of the bill by the house and a vote upon it in the senate, its opponents were active both within and without the senate chamber. Lyman Trumbull became so active in his opposition that the governor subsequently removed him from the office of secretary of state. Despite the efforts of the anti-bank Democrats, the bank bill, which was a compromise measure, passed the senate by a vote of twenty-five to thirteen. It was passed on sectional rather than on political lines.²⁵ Of the affirmative votes ten were Whig and fifteen Democratic, and two Whigs only voted in the negative.²⁶ The Bank of Illinois was likewise authorized to liquidate,²⁷ and with the severance of the relations between the state and the state banks the public debt was automatically reduced more than three million dollars.

A much larger question, one that involved the banks and a great deal besides, was the state debt. Since July 1, 1841, no interest had been paid upon it.²⁸ The reason for non-payment of both principal and interest was based upon neither disinclination to pay nor dishonesty. The debt was more than twelve million dollars, and the interest only a little less than three-quarters of a million a year. Ordinary state revenues did not even suffice to pay the ordinary expenses of carrying on the state government. A tax adequate to pay the interest charges was simply out of the question, not only because the people

²⁴Ames of Boone, Bell of Marshall, Brinkley of Hamilton, and Loy of Fayette. See *House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 135, for vote.

²⁵Those opposing the bank bill were from the counties in the southwestern part of the state, a few scattered counties in the central part, Adams and Hancock in the Military District, and a group in the extreme northern part consisting of McHenry, Boone, Kane, and DeKalb.

²⁶Henry of Morgan; and Waters of Pope, Hardin, and Johnson. Allowing the banks to liquidate was favored by Whigs, who, however, were opposed to having the bank charters repealed in such a way as to jeopardize the interests of the creditors and stockholders of the banks. George T. M. Davis expressed himself as follows: "But what has justly astonished this whole community, is, that Mr. Jonas, a leading Whig in the House, should introduce a minority report *approving of the repeal of the Charter of the Bank.*" *Alton Telegraph*, January 28, 1843.

²⁷*Laws of Illinois*, 1842-3, p. 27 ff.; *State Register*, March 24, 1843. See also *Alton Telegraph*, April 1, 1843.

²⁸Six months before it was freely predicted that the July interest would not be paid. G. Churchill to G. Flagg, January 2, 1841. (Flagg MSS.)

would not but because they could not have borne it.²⁹ The simplest calculation shows that such tax would have been rank confiscation. Repudiation was in the air. In many sections it was openly countenanced, in others disguised. Newspapers of both parties pretended to be horrified at the possibility of repudiation, but not a single one of them could offer definite plans for bringing relief. Positive repudiation, it has often been said, was held in check only by the fear of civic disgrace. European and eastern papers kept dinning in the ears of the people the dolorous results that would come from a declaration of repudiation, but they failed to censure the methods used by bond buyers and capitalists in getting state bonds at a moiety of their face value.³⁰ Yet upon no grounds of common honesty could a declaration of repudiation have been justified, and it seems that a majority was opposed to such a course despite the fact that the state had been swindled out of millions through bad management on the part of her own citizens, as well as of supposedly trustworthy agents in the East and Europe.

There was a general feeling among the lawmakers that the time was not ripe for increasing state taxes to the point where any considerable part of the interest charges could be provided for. Leaders of neither party had the courage to advocate such a proposition. They contented themselves with declarations of honesty and good faith, both on their own account and on account of the people, but they had nothing to offer the creditors in the way of current funds or salable securities.³¹

²⁹Amount of taxable property in 1841, \$69,831,419; state tax thirty cents on the hundred dollars. To pay the interest charges alone would have required a tax rate of something like one dollar and fifty cents on the hundred dollars. See *Illinois Reports*, 1842-3, (Senate) p. 25.

³⁰For typical article see *London Times*, December 8, 1842.

³¹To draw a line and place on one side all the repudiators and upon the other all who opposed repudiation is impossible. Repudiation had a variety of meanings depending upon the person using the word. It seems safe to say that Ford overdrew matters when he said that he could have led a majority of the people to the point where they would have refused to pay the state debt. At a Whig convention held at Springfield in December, 1842, the following resolution was passed: "*Resolved*, That justice to all men, and inviolability of public faith, and cardinal principles of the Whig party, and this convention, in the name of the Whig party of this state, repudiate the doctrine of repudiation." *Sangamo Journal*, December 14, 1842. *Alton Telegraph*, December 23, 1843. For other press

Those most enthusiastic in assuring the creditors of the state that they would eventually be paid represented counties on or near the incompleeted canal. These members were not a whit more honest than those from other sections; they merely realized that some adequate provision must be made to pay the state debt before money for completing the canal could be secured; and in an attempt to gain for their local constituencies the advantages arising from a completed canal they opposed repudiation at every step, and thereby gained for themselves the reputation of possessing more civic honesty than their colleagues from the southern and eastern counties. In the end nothing came of the several attempts to provide for delinquent and current interest charges, and the friends of the canal had to content themselves for another two years with nothing more substantial to offer to the creditors than declarations of honesty and good faith.

By 1842, even the most optimistic friends of the canal were convinced that it could not be completed according to original plans, hence there was a widespread demand for its completion within more modest dimensions. Such a change was not only advisable because the canal would be more rapidly finished, but it was almost absolutely necessary in order to reduce the amount of money to be borrowed from the creditors for its completion. The Canal Bill of 1843 provided for turning over the canal and its appurtenances to the bond holders on condition that they advance \$1,600,000 for its completion.³² In the senate, party lines seem not to have been drawn; the vote was strikingly sectional. Of the eleven Whig members voting, six supported and five opposed the measure; while of the twenty-nine Democrats voting, sixteen supported and thirteen opposed.³³ The principal opposition to the bill was by members from the southern and southeastern counties; its support came from Sangamon and adjoining counties, and from the counties north and west of the Illinois River. It is interesting to note that senators from three districts bordering on the Illinois River were opposed to the measure; one was from Morgan, one from Morgan and Scott,

opinion on the subject, see *Quincy Herald*, March 3, 1843; *Chicago Express*, December 30, 1843; *Alton Telegraph*, January 7, 14, February 11, 1843; *Sangamo Journal*, May 14, 1841.

³²*Laws of Illinois*, 1842-3, p. 54 ff.

³³*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 383.

the third from the district composed of Morgan, Menard, and Logan counties.³⁴ But one senator north and west of the river, Ralston, Democrat, of Adams County, voted against the bill. In the house similar lines were drawn. The sixty-seven supporters of the measure were composed of fifty-two Democrats and fifteen Whigs; of the thirty-seven in opposition seventeen were Whigs and twenty Democrats.³⁵ Sectional jealousies cropped out as they had in the senate. The bulk of the opposition was from the southern counties, from those lying on and near the Indiana line, and from certain sections of the Military District. Here and there one sees what appears to be a desire in certain sections to keep others from surpassing them in economic development.³⁶ The representatives and senators from districts situated along the upper and middle valley of the Illinois River voted consistently for completing the canal, while those from farther down the stream opposed it. The latter had an outlet for their surplus products, and seemed to concern themselves little with the development of the counties farther to the north. The attitude in the extreme southern sections is more easily explained. They had never favored a canal, because, so they said, it would not only be of no direct benefit to them but it would open up an avenue for a flood of tricky Yankees to pour into the state.³⁷

³⁴John Henry (Whig), T. M. Kilpatrick (Whig), and Lewis B. Wynne (Democrat).

³⁵*House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 324.

³⁶Of the three representatives from Madison County, two voted against bill; of the five from Adams County two did not vote and three voted against bill; both representatives from Vermilion voted in negative; of the four from Sangamon one voted for the bill, one against and two did not vote. These four counties perhaps felt the growing strength of Chicago more than any other counties of the state. The counties on the lower Illinois dreaded to see commerce set in through the canal toward Chicago. Vermilion and adjoining counties already felt the competition of Chicago.

³⁷Almost twenty years before one finds the same attitude regarding "Yankees." In a communication to H. Eddy, Governor Edwards says the friends of slavery "have been at heart opposed to this Illinois-Michigan Canal. Some of them more bold, but not more determined in opposition than others, have denounced it as an avenue through which the d-d Yankees would pour in upon the state." N. Edwards to H. Eddy, Communication about August Election, 1828. (Eddy MSS.) Some ten years later one finds a similar feeling on the part of members of the General Assembly from the southern part of the state. "Mr. Hacker from the

Intermingled with the more serious affair of trying to extricate the state from her financial difficulties, was another resembling very much a comedy. The Mormons, upon being driven from Missouri, came across the Mississippi in the winter of 1839-40, and settled in Hancock and adjoining counties.³⁸ Owing to their numbers and solidarity their support was sought by both political parties. Joseph Smith, the prophet, and his followers were inclined at first to favor the Whigs, and it appears that they supported Harrison in 1840. This inclination was only natural, for both the administration of the state that had driven them out and the national administration that had refused them redress were Democratic. In an effort to get redress for wrongs suffered in Missouri, they had the active support of Senator Young and Representative Stuart, the one a Democrat, the other a Whig.³⁹ When the General Assembly met in the winter of 1840, the Mormons, through Dr. John C. Bennett, a recent convert, asked for a charter for their new city Nauvoo.⁴⁰ In the midst of strife over banks and judiciary the lawmakers found time to grant practically every request made of them by the Mormons, usually by a unanimous vote.⁴¹ Early in 1841 the city government of Nauvoo was organized with Dr. Bennett as mayor and Joseph Smith in the body of councillors. Smith had scarcely become acquainted with his new surroundings before he began a remarkable struggle for his freedom before state and

select committee to which was referred the petition of sundry citizens of the town of Vandalia, praying relief for *Clock pedlars*. . . Report that they have had the subject under consideration, and are of the opinion that as the petitioners do not show that any portion of the State is *suffering* for the article of *clocks*, they can see no reason why the prayer of the petitioners should be granted.—*Senate Journal*, 1835, p. 149. The meaning of such a veiled attack is seen clearly when one recalls that "Yankees" and "Clock pedlars" were looked upon by many as one and the same.

³⁸A good account of the Mormons in Illinois is to be found in Linn, *Story of the Mormons*.

³⁹*Niles' Register*, LVII., 364.

⁴⁰John C. Bennett became a general in the Nauvoo Legion as well as the first mayor of Nauvoo. At about the time his term as mayor expired he and Smith disagreed and Bennett went up and down the state denouncing Smith and his religion.

⁴¹See *Laws of Illinois*, 1840-1, index s. v. Nauvoo, Nauvoo Legion, Nauvoo University.

federal courts.⁴² On the whole the bulk of the people sympathized with him. They considered him a much persecuted man, and felt that he and his followers were a valuable acquisition to the state.⁴³ As yet there seems to have been no settled conviction in any quarter that the Mormons were an undesirable element, and the dread that either party may have had of their opposition was overshadowed by its hope for their support.

In the congressional election of 1841, the Mormons apparently supported Stuart (Whig), but already a break appeared in their ranks, and with this break begins their attempts to become a deciding factor in party contests.⁴⁴ By the beginning of the year 1843, each party was divided over the proposition to curtail the powers granted in the various charters given the Mormons. Such a proposition recurred from time to time in both houses of the General Assembly, and with the fluctuation of opinion as expressed in various votes recorded in the Journals one can see back of the scenes a skilled manipulator in the Democratic ranks.⁴⁵ Throughout January and February, 1843, there was a growing sentiment among the Democrats against Smith and his followers. On the twenty-seventh of the latter month the senate on a second reading, by a vote of twenty-three to eleven, declared the Nauvoo city charter revoked,⁴⁶ but on March 6, the same body without recording its vote refused to advance the bill to a third reading.⁴⁷ The house had already voted fifty-eight to thirty-three to repeal the more obnoxious sections of the charter.⁴⁸ Of the fifty-eight affirmative votes forty-four were Democratic and fourteen Whig, while eighteen Demo-

⁴²Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, 138; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 266; Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II, lxxviii; *Federal Cases*, case No. 12,968; *Sangamo Journal*, September 30, 1842; *Alton Telegraph*, January 14, 28, February 4, 1843; *Quincy Herald*, January 12, 1843; *Niles' Register*, LXIII., 389.

⁴³*Niles' Register*, LVIII., 57, 297; Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 221; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 261.

⁴⁴Hancock County; Stuart, 1201; Ralston, 523; Collins, 1. MSS. Election Returns. (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

⁴⁵If the writer may be allowed to hazard a guess he would say that Stephen A. Douglas was the cause of the change in the attitude of the Democrats toward the Mormons.

⁴⁶*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 446.

⁴⁷*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 553.

⁴⁸*House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 528.

ocrats and fifteen Whigs voted in the negative. In the senate vote mentioned above nineteen Democrats supported the measure and three opposed it. This would indicate that the Democrats were inclined to be hostile to the Mormons. Whatever the cause of the opposition it ceased in a mysterious fashion in the senate within the space of a few days. A closer view of the situation may be got by an examination of the stand taken by senators and representatives who had Mormon constituents. Of the twenty such members, fourteen were Democrats and six Whigs. The Democrats divided their vote so that five of them favored revoking all or parts of the Nauvoo charter, four opposed such revocation, and five failed to vote. A similar lack of unity existed among the six Whigs. Two voted for the measure, two against it, while two did not vote. The fact that the members voting were almost equally divided for and against revocation, and that seven of the twenty failed to vote would indicate that those in the best position to know just where the Mormons stood politically were not at all sure of their ground.

During the session of the General Assembly under consideration an attempt was made by certain members of the Galena bar to impeach Thomas C. Browne, one of the justices of the State Supreme Court. Browne was a Whig, and at an earlier day an anti-Jackson man. He had been on the supreme bench for more than twenty years, and during that time, owing to his persistent attempts to get political office, he had made many bitter enemies in the ranks of both parties. His accusers made it clear that there was no suspicion against his honesty of purpose, and that the charges against him involved "nothing derogatory to his character as a man of integrity, but is founded on the natural infirmity and feebleness of his intellect, and over which he has no control."⁴⁹ Between December 24, 1842, the day upon which a petition was presented to the house calling upon that body to investigate the accusation, and January 3, 1843, the date set for beginning the investigation, friends and enemies of Browne worked incessantly, the former to have the charges dismissed without a hearing, the latter to have them pressed with undue severity. On January 4, after hearing evidence, the committee of the whole asked to be discharged from further consideration of the charges made against Browne. The request was refused by a vote of seventy-one to forty. Of the thirty-five Whigs

⁴⁹*House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 135-6.

voting, fifteen opposed it. The next day the house declared that it would consider the charges no farther.⁵⁰ Already on January 3, the senate by a vote of twenty to seventeen, had declined to send a committee or attend as a body at the investigation. The Whigs in the senate were almost equally divided over the question. Seven had voted to refuse to accept the invitation of the house to participate in the proceedings, while six had voted to accept it.⁵¹

In this contest there seems to have been a mixture of motives. In all sections of the state the Whigs professed to view the proceedings as persecution and proscription. To many this was the beginning of a solid Democratic judiciary. The Whig press denounced it in no uncertain terms, charging that the Democrats were determined to stop little short of physical force to gain their ends.⁵² The twenty Whig members voting in the house to discontinue all investigation voted their political convictions. A few of the fifteen voting in what appears to be opposition to the party were perhaps influenced by their local constituencies, while the greater part of the fifteen that cast an apparently hostile vote to Browne were doing it for political purposes. Lincoln was Browne's attorney, and his friends, who in this case were the wheel horses of the Whig party and men of expediency, wanted nothing better than to bring the impeachment proceedings before the senate so that Lincoln could there make political capital for the approaching campaign. The only alternative acceptable to them, and the one they finally agreed to take, was an open acknowledgement on the part of the Democrats that they were in the wrong and that the charges were baseless. The Democrats apparently understood the situation, for as we have already seen they agreed to drop matters without further investigation. As had so often happened before, the majority was circumvented by a few shrewd politicians of the opposition party backed by the ability and ingenuity of Lincoln and his close associates. The accusers of Judge Browne had some ground for their accusations, and while it was perhaps not sufficient to justify impeachment and conviction, it was certainly sufficient to

⁵⁰*House Journal*, 1842-3, pp. 111, 122, 123, 124, 125, 132, 135-6, 140-3, 147, 149-50.

⁵¹*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 147.

⁵²For the best exposition of Whig view known to the writer, see *Alton Telegraph*, January 14, 1843.

justify a more thorough examination of the charges than was given.⁵³

During the year and a half that intervened before the next session of the General Assembly the question of paying the public debt and finishing the canal were taken up and discussed, and the members of the General Assembly elected in August, 1844, knew much better the attitude of their constituents toward the matters at hand than had their predecessors. Governor Ford had used the intervening time to good account in putting the affairs of the state in their proper light before the people,⁵⁴ and in assuring the creditors that there was a growing sentiment for paying a part of the rapidly accruing interest. His correspondence with the holders of state stock both in Europe and in New York was productive of good results. Besides, he had sent agents to meet, and if possible to convince, the creditors that the undeveloped resources of the state would eventually pay every dollar of the debt, and that the development of such resources would be brought about much more quickly with a completed canal.

The Mormon problem likewise demanded attention at the hands of the legislature. Since the adjournment of the previous session, many things had occurred to make it advisable that the problem be attacked and solved. During the congressional election of 1843, the Mormons had thrown their strength to the Democrats with the result that they had alienated the support and friendship of the Whigs; and their vacillation failed to gain any substantial support from the Democrats. The belief that polygamy was being practiced in their ranks made the greater part of the non-Mormon population in Hancock and neighboring counties their most bitter enemies. Events now ran rapidly. In 1844 Smith declared his candidacy for president of the United States.⁵⁶ Armed opposition to the sect arose. The governor went to the scene of conflict with a military force, and by his advice Smith and several of his followers surrendered themselves as prisoners.

⁵³If Judge Browne's ability can be judged by his correspondence, which has just become public, one may say with a great deal of certainty that he was scarcely competent to write out decisions in cases coming before the highest tribunal in the state. See Eddy MSS.

⁵⁴*State Register*, November 8, 1844.

⁵⁵Greene and Thompson, *Governors' Letter-Books*, II., lvii., 58 *passim*.

⁵⁶For a complete discussion of Smith's candidacy, see *Times and Seasons*, February 15, 1844.

The two Smiths, Joseph and Hiram, were imprisoned in the Carthage jail on a charge of treason, and a few days later were put to death by a mob of infuriated anti-Mormons. Following this came assault, arson, and even murder. State troops were called into the field, and western Illinois became an armed camp. Quiet was at length partially restored, but it was apparent that neither party would rest content until the other was completely crushed.⁵⁷

Thus the Legislature, when it met in December, 1844, was confronted with a full program. Added to the cares of watching over and nursing to maturity the feeble and undeveloped resources of the state, was the necessity of quieting the disorders in Hancock and adjoining counties and of putting an end to the internecine warfare in that quarter.

The Fourteenth General Assembly was composed of one hundred and nineteen representatives and forty-one senators.⁵⁸ In the house were seventy-nine Democrats and forty Whigs, in the senate twenty-seven Democrats and fourteen Whigs.⁵⁹ Both

⁵⁷For contemporary and later accounts of the Mormons in Illinois see *Niles' Register*, LVII., 320, 364, LXII., 123, 323 LXIII., 389, LXIV., 320, 336, LXV., 180, 354, 355, 357, LXVI., 311, 325, 329, 330, LXVII., 68, LXIX., 53, 68, 416, LXXI., 99; *Sangamo Journal*, August 12, 1842, October 11, 1844, September 25, October 24, December 25, 1845; *State Register*, November 1, 1844, January 10, February 14, August 29, September 19, 26, October 3, 10, 1845, May 22, October 16, November 6, 1846; *Alton Telegraph*, January 14, 28, August 12, 1843, July 6, August 3, 1844, October 5, 12, 26, November 9, December 12, 1844, February 22, May 31, June 14, July 12, August 23, October 4, 18, 1845, March 14, May 2, 1846; *Quincy Herald*, January 12, 1843; *Expositor*, June 7, 1844; *Neighbor*, June 15, 1844. Current files of *Missouri Republican* and *Chicago Democrat* are valuable in checking up other papers. A good secondary account may be found in Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*; Lee, *The Mormon Menace*; Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*; Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints*.

⁵⁸The apportionment of 1841 provided that there should be 121 members of the lower house, of which number Adams County was entitled to five. A division of Adams County between the passage of the law and the election of 1844 gave two of these representatives to Marquette County, which was never organized and hence did not elect members of the General Assembly. Later these representatives were restored to Adams County. See *Laws of Illinois*, 1840-1, p. 22 ff., 1842-3, p. 79.

⁵⁹*Alton Telegraph*, August 24, 1844; *State Register*, August 23, 1844; *Chicago Democrat*, September 11, 1844; G. Churchill to G. Flag, Decem-

houses were organized on party lines, the Whigs in the house giving a complimentary vote for speaker to their brilliant leader, Stephen T. Logan of Sangamon County. During the session the members took some interest in current political happenings. They passed resolutions on religious tests for public office, on the annexation of Texas, on the occupation of the Oregon country, on Dorr's Rebellion, and on West Point, but the greater problem, the one that necessarily occupied a major portion of their time, was local. This local problem was nevertheless important, for political and sectional lines cut and re-cut each other in a most haphazard fashion. The same old jealousies between parties and sections reappeared in the most out-of-the-way places. Here were revived postponed battles between partisans in the late presidential struggle, there flared up and blazed brightly the dangerous and seemingly unextinguishable fire of sectional envy and hatred.

Almost as soon as the two houses were organized agitation to repeal the charter of the city of Nauvoo developed. Bills to revoke or amend the charter were introduced in both houses. The senate after a much interrupted consideration of some two weeks passed the revocation measure substantially as it appears in the laws by a vote of twenty-five to fourteen.⁶⁰ Of those voting in the affirmative sixteen were Democrats and nine Whigs, in the negative nine were Democrats and five were Whigs. The Whigs were apparently actuated by varied motives. Some wished to destroy forever Mormon influence and power, and considered a revocation of the charter of their capital city the most effective method. Others preferred to support the Mormons in an effort to hold a balance of power between the opposing

ber 3, 1844. (Flagg MSS.) In this classification Starkweather of Cumberland is considered to be a Whig. The newspapers were unanimous in classing him as such, and this supported by a statement made to the writer by his daughter, Mrs. David B. Green, of Toledo, Illinois, who says that he was always a Whig, having held office in the East with that party, and that he continued so down to the formation of the Republican party when he entered that party. Despite what appears to be the best of evidence Mr. Starkweather almost invariably voted with the Democrats on political measures, and in 1852 he was seriously considered by them as a candidate for lieutenant-governor. For particular votes, see *House Journal*, 1844-6, pp. 5, 43, 150, 330, 341.

⁶⁰Vote taken December 19, 1844. For vote see *Senate Journal*, 1844-5, p. 81. For law see *Laws of Illinois*, 1844-5, p. 187 ff.

factions of the Democratic party. Still others had Mormon constituents whose friendship was worth cultivating at the risk of alienating the support of the anti-Mormons. In the house the struggle was more pronounced. Bills varying widely in their provisions were introduced, but all looked forward to revocation or radical modification of the Nauvoo charter. On January 24, 1845, almost a month after the measure had passed the senate, the house concurred in revoking the charter by a vote of seventy-five to thirty-one.⁶¹ Thirty-five Whigs supported the measure, and but two, Harriot of Jersey and Starkweather of Cumberland, opposed it.⁶² The Democrats were more evenly divided. Of the sixty-nine present and voting forty voted in the affirmative and twenty-nine in the negative. An examination of the thirty-one negative votes of both parties shows a sectional aspect as strange as it is striking. If the "Jack Mormons" from Hancock County, and a comparatively few scattered members from other parts of the state be excluded from consideration, the opponents of revocation came from counties and districts very much affected by rapidly growing urban communities in which one might expect to find a wide variance of religious and racial elements, and hence a considerable degree of toleration. Thus the representatives from Cook, DuPage, Peoria, Kane, Fulton, and LaSalle counties consistently opposed the revocation measure.⁶³ The comparative unanimity of the Whigs may be accounted for by the fact that they happened on the whole to represent counties and districts where the feeling against Mormonism was exceedingly bitter.⁶⁴

Following the revocation of the Nauvoo charter an armed truce dragged on for months. At last open war broke out in and around Nauvoo. Under the leadership of Brigham Young and others of the Twelve, thousands of the sect crossed the

⁶¹*House Journal*, 1844-5, p. 276 ff.

⁶²For a discussion of Starkweather's politics, see *ante* p. 15, n. 3.

⁶³Without more conclusive proof one cannot say that the canal supporters "swapped" with the "Jack Mormons" and their friends, but the vote for canal and against revocation of Nauvoo charter are strikingly co-incident. Of the thirty-one members in the house that voted against revocation of the charter, but one, Starkweather of Cumberland, voted against the canal measure. In the senate, Parker of Clark County and Worthington of Pike voted similarly.

⁶⁴E.g. Madison, Sangamon, Knox, Jo Daviess, Morgan, Tazewell, McDonough, St. Clair, Vermilion, and Coles.

Mississippi and began their wearisome march to the westward. Later an army under the command of "General" Brockman attacked Nauvoo, which surrendered after some fighting. Governor Ford called the militia into the field and succeeded in putting a stop to hostilities. Cooler counsels at last prevailed, and with a promise on the part of the remaining Mormons that they would follow their brethren without delay, the anti-Mormon forces agreed to peace. So well was the agreement carried out, that one of the first official acts of Governor French was an order withdrawing the state troops from the scene of the late conflict.

In the discussion of ways and means of paying interest on the state debt by some sort of taxation, and of completing the canal by turning it over with its property and appurtenances to the holders of canal bonds on condition that they complete it, party and sectional differences had full play. Taxing the people to pay interest was inseparably bound up with the completion of the canal.⁶⁵ Creditors were unwilling to advance further funds for the canal unless the people through their representatives showed an inclination to declare their honesty and good intentions in something more substantial than platitudinous and unproductive resolutions. In general, one finds that those favoring one proposition favored the other, but on the part of the opposition there was some diversity of opinion. Unwilling to afford special advantages to Chicago and other towns along the route of the canal, some were prepared to support measures for paying interest without canal legislation, others were willing to turn the canal over to the holders of canal bonds, but unwilling to favor any measure that had for its end taxation, while the great majority in the opposition was unfriendly to both measures. In one quarter the opposition was due to an obstructionist policy on the part of a few Whigs, in another to sectional envy and distrust, and in still others to a feeling that the state had been swindled and that the holders of the bonds were bloated and unscrupulous capitalists who thrived upon the meager product of the hard earned labor of the common people. When Governor Davis of Massachusetts and David Leavitt of New York visited Springfield in February, 1845, in the interest of the canal project they were regarded by many members of the General Assembly with suspicion and distrust; some even declared that they had come to the capital with the expressed purpose of dictating to

⁶⁵G. Churchill to G. Flagg, February 19, 1845. (Flagg MSS.)

the "representatives of a sovereign state." Actuated by a diversity of opinions as expressed by widely separated constituencies, and beset with doubts and suspicions, a great many members vacillated between parties, laying themselves open to the charge of log-rolling and graft.

Opposition to the canal and interest measures was not less pronounced in the house than in the senate, in spite of the fact that the former body passed both measures by large majorities. Not having the original bill and the various amendments, some of which were incorporated in the act that finally became law, one is unable to determine with exactness just what caused the long debates over measures that had such a large following. There is evidence at hand, however, to show that the opposition consumed both time and patience by offering impossible amendments and by calling for a recorded vote at every opportunity. At last on February 22, 1845, a bill, after having been amended so as to gain the greatest possible number of supporters, was passed in the house by a vote of sixty-six to forty-two.⁶⁶ Before the clerk could be ordered to report the same to the senate and ask their concurrence therein, Mr. Sexton of Gallatin County moved to amend the title of the bill by striking it out and inserting in its stead, "A bill for an act to increase the state debt; or the British grant." Upon the motion of Mr. Arnold of Cook County the amendment was laid upon the table. An amendment such as was proposed by the member from Gallatin, illustrates clearly the opinion held by those who would have scorned the idea of any attempt on their part to reject sound state policies, simply because beneficial to the northern counties; they considered their acts to be based upon the purest motives, and felt that their colleagues from the canal district were influenced in their actions by a selfish desire to gain advantages for their own sections at the expense of the whole state. To their way of thinking, the members from Cook and other northern counties were deliberately attempting to increase the state debt and to saddle a large tax upon the people, the corollary of which was a grant to British bond holders.

⁶⁶*House Journal*, 1844-5, pp. 497-8. Of the sixty-six affirmative votes forty were Democratic and twenty-six Whig; of the forty-two negative votes thirty-two were Democratic and ten Whig. Not a single representative from a strictly southern county, except Adams of Monroe, voted in the affirmative.

When the bill reached the senate it met not more pronounced but rather more successful opposition. That body was divided almost equally over any proposition which combined completing the canal with taxation to pay interest. As it eventually turned out, a majority favored each proposition standing alone, and not until that fact was discovered by the friends of the canal, and a scheme devised for divorcing the two propositions, was any headway made. When on February 25, 1845, the question of ordering the house bill to a third reading was under consideration, Mr. Edwards of Sangamon County, offered an amendment that would have changed the bill so as to render it entirely unsatisfactory to the creditors of the state. On motion of Mr. Markley of Fulton County, the proposed amendment was laid on the table until the "4th of July next."⁶⁷ Several other amendments of a like nature were offered, but all suffered the same fate. At last a motion was made to advance the bill to a third reading, but it was voted down by a vote of twenty-two to nineteen. The vote was later reconsidered and the bill was referred to a select committee of five, three of whom were warm friends of the canal.⁶⁸ Later it was ordered to a third reading and referred to another select committee composed of Judd, Harrison, and Kilpatrick.⁶⁹ This committee referred it back to the senate without amendments and recommended its passage, which was done by a vote of twenty-one to twenty.

An analysis of this vote is significant, although it differs but little, so far as political and sectional lines are concerned, from those taken on similar subjects two years before. Of the fourteen Whigs voting seven voted in the affirmative. All but one of these seven represented districts adjacent to, or north of, the Illinois River, and this excepted district was a northern one composed of McLean, Macon, Livingston, Piatt, and DeWitt counties. Conversely, the opposition among the Whigs came from members representing southern counties and districts. Twenty-seven Democrats took part in the voting, and of that number fourteen supported the measure. With the exception of Dunlap, who rep-

⁶⁷The favorite method of killing measures in this and many other sessions of the Legislature.

⁶⁸Committee: McMurtry (Dem.), Worthington (Whig.), Judd (Dem.), Ryan (Dem.), Dunlap (Whig). All except Dunlap represented districts having a direct interest in completing the canal.

⁶⁹Judd was a Democrat, while Kilpatrick and Harrison were Whigs.

resented a district composed of Crawford, Lawrence, and Jasper counties and a part of Richland, these same fourteen senators represented districts adjacent to, or north of, the route of the canal. The opponents of the bill, on the other hand, were, with one exception, from the southern part of the state. Thus not upon political but upon sectional lines was the interest-paying measure passed. Senators from the northern counties, alive to the benefits to be derived from a completed canal and the expenditure of more than one and a half million dollars in their midst, voted to impose a tax upon the people in order that the canal might be completed, and their justification, if they needed any, was the completion of the canal within four years and a final extinguishment of the state debt as to both principal and interest.⁷⁰

The house bill, which the senate had just passed with so much difficulty, had been so amended in the latter body that the canal was left unprovided for. No sooner was the interest bill passed and on its way back to the house for ratification than another house bill entitled, "An act authorizing the school commissioners of Greene County to sell certain property purchased on execution," was taken up and read a second time. Immediately Mr. Kilpatrick moved to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert what eventually became the "supplementary canal bill of 1845." This was done, and after being ordered to a third reading was referred to a select committee composed of Kilpatrick, McMurtry, and Minard, each of whom represented a district vitally interested in a completed canal. The next day, February 28, 1845, the committee reported the bill back to the senate without amendment and recommended that it be passed, which was done by a vote of twenty-three to eighteen. This vote differs in its sectional aspect only a little from the one just considered, in that the north favored its passage and the south

⁷⁰Governor Ford and others have mentioned the support gained by dividing the bills, but the names of the senators that changed appear to have slumbered heretofore in the journals of the senate. First of all it ought to be noticed that every senator was present and voting, secondly that every senator that supported the combined measures supported them when separated. After the separation the interest bill gained the support of Dunlap and Worthington, both of whom opposed the canal bill. The canal bill, on the other hand, was supported by Edwards, Smith of Madison, Warren, and Davis, none of whom was willing to support the interest bill. See *Senate Journal*, 1844-5, pp. 383, 400, 412.

opposed it. Later in the same day an appropriate enacting clause replaced the one concerning the school commissioners of Greene County. Both bills were returned to the house where they were repassed as amended by the Senate, and sent to the Council of Revision.

The struggle over a completed canal and the payment of interest on the state debt had far reaching results. During the two years in which the contest was carried on, the influence of Chicago and Cook County became apparent. Judd in the senate, and Arnold, Sherman, and Stewart in the house displayed a more aggressive spirit than their predecessors had done. Their success in advocating measures beneficial to their own locality was noticed by their contemporaries, and this success increased regardless of the party in power at the capital; and either by design or accident a majority of the people along the Lake had the same political affiliations as a majority of the entire state.

Sectionalism has always been a potent factor in Illinois political life. In the early days the line of demarcation rested on a question of birth. Those born in the South and West were hostile to those born in the East, particularly in New England. Because of the extreme length of the state, and the fact that the settlers from New England and New York settled in the northern counties, sectionalism continued in much the same form but upon a modified basis. There was a perpetual misunderstanding between the common people of the two sections. The settlers in the north regarded their less progressive neighbors with contempt that was not always hidden, and the feeling was reciprocated on the part of the people in the southern counties with one of hatred and distrust. This attitude is well illustrated by the remark of a public man who usually displayed a generous spirit toward all sections and people. "Mr. Ames, who is as near the *little end of nothing* as any person I ever saw, introduced a bill to repeal the Cairo City Charter. . . This individual is one of the Northern wise-acres sent to the Legislature to enlighten the ignorant and un-intelligent South."⁷¹ If such an expression represented the feeling of men who had a broad knowledge of affairs, what must have been that of the great mass in the southern counties, who had a very distorted idea of their northern neighbors, whom they called "Yankees?"

⁷¹G. T. M. Davis in *Alton Telegraph*, January 28, 1843.

During the five years following 1840, local problems received the major portion of the people's attention, and there arose in solving these problems serious aspects of sectionalism. Consequently the activities of the Whig party are less noticeable than formerly. The four important state issues before the General Assemblies of these years were: (1) liquidation of the state banks; (2) provisions for the state debt; (3) completion of the Illinois-Michigan Canal; (4) the Mormon question. The banks were liquidated without serious opposition. On the other issues the people as well as their representatives were divided. The southern and eastern counties very generally opposed completing the canal and paying interest on the state debt. The question of revoking the Nauvoo City Charter brought on acrimonious debate in the General Assembly, but in the end those favoring revocation prevailed. There were, however, national political issues that demanded attention during this period, and they are noticed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE ILLINOIS WHIGS AND NATIONAL POLICIES.

1841-1845.

The character of the Federal Constitution, and the large place occupied by national policies in the lives of the people, make it impossible to divorce local and national issues. It becomes necessary in the lives of most political leaders, in order that they may remain connected with their party politics, to deny principles which they personally hold, and to adhere to those dictated by party policy. Therefore in a discussion of a political party within any particular state and its support or opposition to local issues, such as has been attempted in the previous chapter, there is always a necessary correction of inference concerning principles followed by local men, by bringing them into connection with national politics. It has been seen that there was a natural tendency in Illinois by both Democratic and Whig leaders to view all local issues according to sectional interests, but the true condition of politics cannot be understood unless it is realized that the tendency to break into sectional groups was retarded by the demands of allegiance to national politics. The Whigs were held rather loosely together by a common adherence to certain national policies, which had come by 1840 to be recognized as belonging peculiarly to that party. The most important of these policies were the American system, the United States bank, and federal aid for internal improvements. Closely connected with these policies was a personality, which was a policy in itself; and sometimes it overshadowed the principles for which the possessor of it stood. The support of the principles, and their sponsor, Henry Clay, divided with local issues the attention of the Whigs during the early forties.

As March 4, 1841, drew near, the Whigs again gave vent to the enthusiasm that had won the preceding November election for them. To a great many in the party, the opportunity to hold an office under the federal government had never before been

present; and the prospect of applying the principle "to the victor belong the spoils," to oust thousands of Democratic office-holders was pleasant to contemplate. Particularly was this true in Illinois where the Democrats had been in complete control for years. At the same time the Democrats, unmindful of past practices, denounced the proposed removal of federal officers for political reasons, calling it proscription for party's sake. This contemplated distribution of offices put the Springfield "Junto" in an enviable position. John T. Stuart, one of its members, enjoyed the distinction of being the only Whig representative from the state in either house of Congress, and it was expected, and rightfully so, that his influence with the new administration would be very great.

If the Whigs were jubilant at the prospect of actual participation in the administration of national affairs, the Democrats professed to be filled with the greatest alarm. Before Harrison's administration should expire, it was predicted that every landmark set up by preceding Republican presidents would be destroyed; that the state governments would be overshadowed by the central government and "rushing to consolidation;" and that the United States would be burdened with a debt of three hundred million dollars. It was declared that a United States bank with a capital of one hundred million dollars supplied from Great Britain, having under its control "myriads of dependent branches," was contemplated by the new administration. The tariff, it was predicted, would be raised to the point where it would yield forty millions of revenue annually, and grind "to the dust the working man, leaving him but the mere bread of existence for himself, his wife, and his children." The climax of gloom was reached in picturing the result of the abolitionist tendencies of the new president and his advisers; one writer claimed with the greatest apparent sincerity that he expected to see in a short time "the monster Abolitionism stalking through the land, and severing the bond of fraternal feeling and love which now unites the people of the different states."¹ Long lists of contemplated Whig appointees to federal offices were published in Democratic papers in an effort to prove that the change of administration would be revolutionary. The same papers fairly teemed with extravagant notices of the supposed hostile

¹See *State Register*, March 5, 1841. An article entitled "THE RESTORED DYNASTY OF FEDERALISM" is particularly suggestive.

attitude of Harrison and his advisers toward unorthodox Whigs as well as Democrats.

In the midst of these ominous predictions the news of President Harrison's death reached Illinois. It was received with sincere regret by the press of both parties. For the instant, political differences were sunk as a tribute to the dead executive. Even the most extreme Democratic papers gave him the praise they had withheld in the late presidential campaign, and none was heartless enough to mention any of the calumnies that had been hurled at him in the heat of battle. It was very generally expected that his death would not hinder the Whig program of national legislation.

A close examination of available newspapers does not indicate any suspicion on the part of the Whigs that Tyler would refuse to carry out the policies of his deceased predecessor. Nor did the Democrats seem to have any intimation that this would happen, for they began immediately to criticize the new president and his cabinet. Particularly was criticism directed toward Webster, whom the Democrats professed to regard as the representative of special privileges and a particular section, and the incarnation of "revived Federalism." He had been the focus of attack since his appointment to the state portfolio had been made public, but with the death of Harrison, came the belief that the New Englander would assume a larger place in national affairs. This belief actuated the Democratic press to redouble its efforts in an attack on Webster no less bitter than those which it had carried on against Clay, Harrison, and Adams.

Even before the Harrisburg Convention had named John Tyler for second place on the Whig ticket, there was a respectable demand in Illinois for such a choice. Tyler had been supported by the Whigs and anti-Van Buren Democrats in the campaign of 1836 as vice-presidential candidate on the Harrison and White tickets. As soon as the news of Tyler's nomination in 1839 reached Illinois, the *Alton Telegraph*² voiced the sentiment of the Whigs by declaring that "against *John Tyler* as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, we presume not a single objection can be raised by any one who is not already enlisted in the Loco-Foco ranks. The choice of the convention could not have fallen upon a worthier man; and he will doubtless obtain the unanimous support of all the opponents of the existing Administration."²

²Issues of January 4, 1840, and *passim*.

Like sentiments were expressed by the *Sangamo Journal*, *Mt. Carmel Register*, and other Whig papers.³

This feeling of satisfaction in Tyler's selection was not confined to the press. County ratification meetings endorsed his nomination with the greatest show of sincere enthusiasm. At the great rally held at Springfield in June, 1840, it was resolved, "that we believe that JOHN TYLER—the old fashioned Virginian Republican, is every way better qualified to fill that distinguished station [vice presidency] than any or all of his competitors."⁴ Throughout the campaign Tyler's name was inseparably connected with that of Harrison, the battle cry being "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and there appeared to have been no feeling in Illinois that Tyler was any but an orthodox Whig of the purest type.

For several weeks after Harrison's death, eulogies on the dead president allowed little space to the Whig editors of Illinois for expressing an opinion on Tyler's attitude toward carrying out what were called "Harrisonian Principles." The first discordant note came from the Democratic press, which professed to believe that the new president was a Democrat at heart. These professions were presumably reiterated by the two senators from Illinois, both of whom were Democrats, who claimed to have information at first hand that Tyler was not and never had been a Whig as the people of Illinois understood the term. In the face of these claims the Whig press manfully, but with apparent misgivings, declared emphatically that the Whigs were satisfied with Mr. Tyler.⁵

The president's message to the called session of Congress in 1841, was published with a professed degree of satisfaction by the papers of both parties, each side claiming loudly that the message was Whig or Democratic as the case might be.⁶ On the

³*Sangamo Journal*, December 27, 1839; *Vandalia Free Press*, January 24, 1840.

⁴*Sangamo Journal*, June 5, 1840.

⁵"If there is any truth or sincerity in the professions of the loco foco party, we shall soon have very peaceable times, so far as politics are concerned. The loco foco press professes to be satisfied with Mr. Tyler,—the Whig press certainly is. If so, what is there to quarrel about? Nothing most certainly, if the loco foco speaks the truth. 'Nous Verrons,' as Ritchie used to say." *Sangamo Journal*, April 30, 1841. See also issue of May 7, 1841; also *Illinois Republican* (Shawneetown), April 24, 1841.

⁶*State Register*, June 11, 1841; *Alton Telegraph*, June 19, 20, 26, 1841.

whole, however, the Democratic press had the advantage on its side, for those parts of the message dealing with a bank, the tariff, and the distribution of patronage, ran counter to the generally accepted ideas of the Illinois Whigs. The Democratic press and politicians left nothing undone to discredit Tyler in the eyes of the Whigs, in the hope that misunderstandings and mutual jealousies might be brought to life and stimulated into a healthy growth.

In the midst of political uncertainties the congressional election of 1841 occurred. Originally the elections for representatives had been held on the first Monday of August in even numbered years, but the General Assembly, in the hope of being able to secure an increased number of representatives on the basis of the census of 1840, had postponed the election from 1840 to 1841.⁷ In only one of the three congressional districts, the Third, did the Whigs have a candidate of their own party. In the First district they combined with one element of the Democrats against ex-Governor Reynolds;⁸ in the Second, they supported Casey, whom they considered less objectionable than his more radical opponent, Stinson H. Anderson of Jefferson County;⁹ in the Third, they had their own party candidate, John T. Stuart of Sangamon County. Lack of candidates in two of the districts was due to demoralization resulting from Harrison's death and Tyler's reported defection from the party ranks, as well as from a feeling that a strict party man could not be elected. Under the circumstances it was considered good politics by the Whig leaders to combine with their more conservative opponents against the radical wing. Reynolds was elected in spite of coalition against him; Casey with the assistance of his Whig allies defeated Anderson; and Stuart, whose district comprised all the northern part of the state, was re-elected by a small majority. On the whole the Whigs considered that the election had resulted in their favor.¹⁰

⁷See *Laws of Illinois*, 1838-9, p. 109; A. Lincoln to J. T. Stuart, January 1, 1840, Lincoln, *Complete Works*, I., 37.

⁸A number of letters in the Eddy MSS. throws light on Reynolds' candidacy. See also MSS. Election Returns, (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

⁹Whig counties in this district invariably went for Casey. See MSS. Election Returns, (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

¹⁰Candidates: First district—Henry L. Webb (Whig); John Reynolds (Loco); Stephen R. Rowan (Loco). Second district—Zadok Casey

Following on the heels of the congressional election came the president's veto of the Whigs' pet measure, the legalizing of a third United States bank. Forthwith the Whig press denounced Tyler in the most bitter terms, and in so doing showed their past fears. "Our worst fears are more than realized. The die is cast! The hopes of a nation are blasted. . . and rights for which they, the Whigs, have been manfully contending for twelve years past, have been trampled upon by the arbitrary use of the veto power by John Tyler in returning the Bank bill, refusing his approval."¹¹ What made the situation more exasperating was the attitude of the Democratic press, which fairly teemed with letters and editorials designed to widen the breach between the president and his party. In the minds of the rank and file of the party Tyler was a traitor, a renegade, and a political outcast. His veto of the Bank bill alienated from him practically all the Whigs in Illinois, who saw their well earned victory of 1840 lost through what many called "political intrigue and personal knavery."

Every act of the president which could be interpreted as unfriendly to the Whigs, was subjected to the fiercest criticism by the Whig press. Removal of Whig incumbents from federal offices and refusal by the president to replace Democrats with Whigs were denounced, even in the face of recent declarations that the good of the public service should take precedence over personal preferment and that there should be no proscription for party's sake. Time opened rather than healed the wound inflicted upon the Whig party by Tyler's refusal to co-operate

(Conservative); Stinson H. Anderson (Loco). Third district—John T. Stuart (Whig); James H. Ralston (Loco). *Alton Telegraph*, July 24, 1841.

It is hardly correct to class Webb as a Whig, despite the fact that he had leanings in that direction. See H. L. Webb to H. Eddy, June 20, 1840. (Eddy MSS.) While a member of the General Assembly in 1838-40, Webb voted consistently with the Democrats, except in the election of public printer. Mr. Weber, against whom Webb had voted for that office, merely considered Webb's successor a better Democrat than was Webb. Rowan was a Democrat, but in the phraseology of the time he was a "conservative." Rowan withdrew from the race but received 171 votes.

¹¹*Alton Telegraph*, August 28, 1841. The *Illinois Republican*, August 21, 1841, made a characteristic attack on the president. "The long agony over—the Bank Bill vetoed by his accidenty President Tyler. The will of the People violated and set at naught—the days of Jacksonianism, Vetoism and Monarchism restored."

with its members in passing the bank bill. Stung by the taunts of the Democratic press, the leaders of the Illinois Whigs were in a bad humor when they gathered together to compare notes at the opening of the General Assembly in December, 1842.

Although the bankrupt state demanded the closest attention of the lawmakers, there inevitably came to the surface from time to time national issues, which divided their attention with state affairs. When the question arose of accepting from the federal government certain moneys derived from the sale of public lands, the old controversy about the attitude taken by each party toward federal aid for internal improvements was renewed. The senate committee on finance voiced the sentiment of a great number of the Democratic party when it laid down the dictum that the proceeds arising from the sale of public land within the state differed greatly from those arising from the sale of land without the state. The former, the committee believed, rightfully belonged to the state, the latter to the state in which the lands sold were located.¹² Governor Carlin had gone further in declaring that there was essentially no difference between distributing funds collected on imports and funds derived from the sale of public land. To support his contention he devoted considerable space in his last message to defining the powers of Congress, and declared that the law authorizing the distribution was unconstitutional.¹³

The demand for money was so pressing that a majority of the Democrats in the house supported by every Whig present voted to accept all the funds to which Illinois was entitled under the law.¹⁴ In the senate the measure met sturdy opposition. The finance committee of that body recommended that only a part of the fund be received. After animated debates, and filibustering tactics on the part of the opposition, the house bill was passed by the senate.¹⁵ Every Whig present supported the measure, with the feeling that the distribution of the proceeds arising from the sale of public lands was a national Whig policy, which had the support of Clay.

Another national policy to which the Democratic members of the Assembly took exception was the recent Whig tariff, and

¹²*General Assembly Reports* (Senate), 1842-3, p. 102.

¹³*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 23; *House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 28; *General Assembly Reports*, 1842-3, p. 14 ff.

¹⁴*House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 107.

¹⁵*Senate Journal*, 1842-3, p. 392 ff.

in their opposition they were divided as they had been over the proposition to receive the funds from the sale of public lands. The senate resolved that the senators in Congress be instructed and the representatives be requested to "use their endeavors to obtain a modification of the same [tariff], so that it may favor, if possible, all branches of industry alike; and secure an adequate revenue for the wants of the government."¹⁶ In the same set of resolutions the Democrats took advantage of the opportunity to go on record against the protective principles, and a United States bank, and to declare in favor of an independent treasury. The Whigs lined up solidly against the resolutions. Under the leadership of E. D. Baker, every obstacle possible was interposed. Amendments that would have changed the resolutions materially were proposed by the Whigs, but to no avail. The resolutions were passed, all the Whigs, thirteen in number, and one Democrat voting in the negative.¹⁷ Opposition in the Democratic ranks appeared when the resolutions were sent to the house, and they seem never to have been acted upon by that body.

The meeting of the General Assembly gave to the Whig members an opportunity for getting together in informal meetings where ways and means of conducting the congressional campaign of 1843 and the presidential campaign of 1844 were discussed. Although not a member of the General Assembly, Mr. Lincoln was an active participant in the meetings held by his political friends, and when a program of action and platform of purpose were proposed he was invariably selected to assist in formulating them. These meetings were enthusiastically attended and the published utterances of the men who made speeches in them show that the leaders were optimistic of success. The first event at hand of a political nature was the congressional election to be held in August, 1843.

The increase in the number of representatives from three in 1841 to seven in 1843, was encouraging to both parties. Particularly were the Whigs encouraged. This increase was due in great part to an increased population in the northern and central

¹⁶The senate resolutions as passed are found only in *House Journal*, 1842-3, p. 146.

¹⁷Nathaniel Parker, representing Coles and Clark counties, was the Democrat voting with the Whigs. Mr. Parker was perhaps not a very strong party man, for upon several occasions he voted with the Whigs.

counties where the Whigs had always had a fighting chance.¹⁸ In the Seventh district especially was the competition sharp between three of its strongest Whigs—Lincoln, Hardin and Baker. Each of these men was popular, each was a regular party man, and all three possessed more than ordinary ability. For many weeks the outcome was doubtful.¹⁹ Fortunately for the party, Hardin, who was the strongest of the three, was selected by a nominating convention. Equally fortunately, the defeated candidates endorsed the nominee and gave him their support. In some of the districts there were Tyler candidates for Congress, but in no case did they receive any great support, for Tylerism was unpopular among all parties and classes. In the districts where the Whigs had no chance whatever to elect their own candidates, they did as they had often done before, supported the least offensive candidate of the Democratic party. Thus in the Second district, they supported Casey against McClernand, who was decidedly radical.²⁰ In but one of the seven districts, the Seventh, was a regular Whig chosen as representative, yet the Whig leaders professed to believe that their party was relatively stronger than it had been in the campaign of 1840.

With the election of 1843 out of the way, the Whig press took up in earnest the campaign and election of 1844. Clay was the only candidate seriously considered.²¹ His public acts served as the basis for pages of editorials and communications. His friendship for the West and South was held up before the voters of all parties; and they were asked to support him because of this friendship. Sectional prejudices were appealed to in an effort to attract Democrats from Van Buren to Clay. In addi-

¹⁸Until 1843, practically the entire northern and central parts of the state were in the Third district. After the re-apportionment, but three of the seven districts can be said to have been southern. See *Laws of Illinois*, 1842-3, pp. 71-3.

¹⁹Lincoln, *Complete Works*, I., 79 *passim*; *Alton Telegraph*, April 15, 1843.

²⁰W. Pickering to J. Marshall, April 18, 1843. (Eddy MSS.)

²¹For various opinions see *Alton Telegraph*, December 30, 1843, February 17, 1844. The attitude of the *Telegraph* toward some other candidates is expressed in the following words: "Daniel Webster, it is asserted, intends to be a candidate for the Presidency. We do not believe it but should the rumor be true his success will be *nearly equal* to those of John Tyler. Neither of them could carry over one State in the Union." Issue of May 6, 1843.

tion, the story of the poverty of the early life of Clay was told and retold in an effort to excite sympathy and admiration for him in the minds of the people, many of whom had risen from a position no higher. Every attention shown Clay by the people was interpreted by the Whig press as an omen of victory. Praise for him was unsparing. "We notice with pride that the *Cincinnatus of the West*—Henry Clay—in his journey South, is greeted at every landing, town, and city, with enthusiastic demonstrations of regard and respect. How could it be otherwise, unless the people whom he has so long and faithfully served, both at home and abroad, were perfectly *callous* to every feeling of gratitude and national pride."²²

What made the situation more encouraging was a threatened split in the Democratic ranks. Van Buren was the choice perhaps of a majority of the Democrats, and he was certainly considered by the Whigs as the prospective candidate. There was, however, a strong feeling that Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky ought to be and would be the nominee of the Democratic party.²³ Such was the situation in both parties when the Whigs formulated the principles upon which they stood as a party.

A great deal has been said about the reluctance of the Whigs to declare for certain definite principles. However much such a state of affairs may have been true in the nation at large, it was not true in Illinois. In 1840 the Whigs had adopted clean cut principles upon which they asked the support of the people;²⁴ and now in 1843, they reiterated their former declarations with greater emphasis. Without apparent hesitancy they proclaimed through the press and from the stump, political doctrines that cannot be mistaken or explained away.

In an "Address to the People of Illinois" by a Whig committee composed of Messrs. A. Lincoln, S. T. Logan, and A. T. Bledsoe, there were laid down in detail six principal articles of faith of the party.²⁵ First of all came the tariff. A demand was made for a tariff for revenue that would give protection to American industries. To support their contentions the members of the committee quoted Jefferson, Jackson, and Calhoun,

²²*Alton Telegraph*, January 7, 1843.

²³*State Register*, November 27, 1840; *Alton Telegraph*, December 30, 1843.

²⁴*Sangamo Journal*, October 11, 1839.

²⁵Lincoln, *Complete Works*, I., 72 ff.; *Alton Telegraph*, March 25, 1843.

and in so doing brought to bear upon their political enemies their own artillery. Without taking into consideration any change in conditions, either political or economic, Jefferson was made to say in a letter to Benjamin Austin that manufacturing was no less important than was agriculture, and that American independence depended to a large extent upon the former. Jackson was quoted in a similar fashion, and his sentiments for a protective tariff shown to have been even stronger than those expressed by Jefferson: "In short, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more *Americanized*, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or else, in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves." From a speech of Mr. Calhoun on the tariff an excerpt was made which showed that statesmen to consider the prosperity of the manufacturer and his workmen essential to a widespread prosperity, and that the farmer would of all classes share in that prosperity. The committee took a definite stand for a tariff that would yield a revenue sufficient to provide for the public debt, and at the same time obviate any necessity of imposing a direct tax upon the people for purposes of the general government. In support of this claim it was pointed out that a tariff would fall principally upon the rich, while a direct tax would have to be borne by all classes, with the result that it would bear most heavily upon the poor.²⁶

The question of a United States bank came in for considerable attention. As an argument for its constitutionality it was pointed out with emphasis that the first bank had been established by the Fathers of the Constitution. To strengthen the argument it was recalled that the establishment of the bank had been sanctioned by the Supreme Court, "the most enlightened judicial tribunal of the world." All this dealt with the constitutionality of the question, but in the minds of westerners expediency had considerable weight. The committee in a most characteristic

²⁶The nature of that part of the address relating to direct taxation is illustrated by the following excerpt: "By the direct tax system, none can escape. However strictly the citizen may exclude from his premises all foreign luxuries—fine clothes, fine silks, rich wines, golden chains, and diamond rings; still, for the possession of his house, his barn, and his homespun, he is to be perpetually haunted and harassed by the tax gatherer."

way solved the problem by saying, "Upon the question of expediency, we ask you only to examine the history of those times with the miserable present."

Other issues were discussed in a similar way; Clay's Land Bill, the naming of candidates for Congress in every district regardless of chances for Whig success, and the adoption of the convention system for nominating candidates, received their share of attention. On the whole these questions were ably handled, and the sectional interests of the people of Illinois appealed to in an effort to gain support for the Whig party. The address closed with an analysis of political conditions both present and past, and the prediction was made that Whig victory in the approaching election was assured if only the Whigs would remember the principles for which they had fought in 1840, and act upon them as patriotic citizens should. "We declare it to be our solemn conviction, that the Whigs are always a majority of this Nation; and that to make them always successful, needs but to get them all to the polls, and to vote unitedly. This is the great desideratum. . . At every election, let every Whig act as though he knew the result to depend upon his action." If the address is indicative of the feeling of the committee as well as of the party it represented, one sees that along with the spirit of optimism expressed there was a soreness occasioned by Harrison's death and the loss of benefits from the Whig victory of 1840.

With the Whig declarations thus set forth, the campaign for the presidency began in earnest. There seems to have been no inclination to consider any candidate other than Clay. Throughout the summer of 1843 Clay clubs were formed.²⁷ The Whig press kept Clay before the people by reciting his many virtues, and by comparing them with those of Van Buren, whom the Whigs considered to be the opposing candidate. The congressional election of that year gave the opportunity of bringing national politics to the front, and while the Democrats were uniformly successful in that contest, the Whigs took advantage of the opportunity, as has been seen, to form coalitions with conservative elements of the opposition.

In December, 1843, a Whig state convention similar to that held four years before convened for the purpose of defining

²⁷*Alton Telegraph*, May 27, December 30, 1843.

policies and selecting electors for the approaching campaign.²⁸ Among other things Tyler was denounced and declared to be without a party; Clay, and Davis of Massachusetts were endorsed for president and vice-president respectively, but the convention promised support to the candidates that might be selected by the national Whig convention to be held at Baltimore; a protective tariff, and a sound and uniform currency, not metallic, were endorsed; and as a further slap to the Democrats, the convention declared itself in favor of the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of the public lands. No previous convention seems to have had a more complex and complete organization. Besides the various committees incident to such bodies, congressional central committees were chosen, and a campaign outlined. The leading spirits were Archibald Williams, A. Lincoln, G. T. M. Davis, Joseph Gillespie, John Wood, E. H. Gatewood, and Henry Eddy. Other prominent Whigs taking a part rather more informal were Judge Logan, W. H. Herndon, and John J. Hardin. Of the nine candidates for presidential electors, the most prominent were Lincoln, A. Lisle Smith, Joseph Gillespie, U. F. Linder, and Edwin B. Webb.²⁹ Two delegates-at-large to the Whig national convention were chosen,³⁰ and the selection of district delegates was left to the districts themselves.

In common with their political brethren of other states, the Illinois Whigs made the fatal mistake of assuming too strongly that Van Buren would be the Democratic candidate for the presidency. Working upon such an assumption they attacked him from every angle. Every charge that had been brought against him in the campaign of 1840 was made to work overtime. Van Buren had never been popular in Illinois, even though he had carried the state's vote in 1836 and 1840; and common sense on the part of the Democrats demanded that he be not nominated in 1844, particularly after it was evident that the attacks of the Whigs would be effective. Had the leaders

²⁸For report of the convention, see *Sangamo Journal*, December 14, 1843; *Alton Telegraph*, December 16, 23, 1843. Permanent officers: president, A. Williams (Adams); vice-presidents, E. H. Gatewood (Gallatin), L. B. Knowlton (Peoria), Joseph Gillespie (Madison); secretaries, J. H. Ruggles (Scott), B. Bond (Clinton).

²⁹Other electors were, John J. Brown, D. M. Woodson, N. Belcher, and William Brown.

³⁰State senatorial delegates to the Whig national convention were G. T. M. Davis and L. B. Knowlton.

of the latter party had the foresight to see the trend of events, and the ability to restrain the rank and file of the party from premature attack on Van Buren, the outcome of the election of 1844 might have been materially different.³¹

With Clay nominated by the Baltimore Convention as standard bearer for the Whigs, the charge of bargain against him and Adams was raised by the opposition.³² Because Jackson continued down to the very end of his life to believe in the charge, it was impossible to dispel from the minds of many, who otherwise would not have believed the story, a suspicion that the charge was founded on truth. On the part of the Whigs, attempts to prove that the charge was unfounded and unjust were imperative. The Whig newspapers devoted considerable space to a refutation of the charge; and to prove their contention they quoted letters and statements from men who had been associated with the principal actors of the drama, and who declared that there was no foundation for the charge.³³ The evidence thus marshalled in defense of Clay was, to the minds of present day scholars, conclusive, but it is quite certain that many who otherwise would have supported Clay, refused to do so because they believed that he with Adams had "thwarted the popular will" in 1825.

In an effort to revive the enthusiasm of 1840, the Whigs of the nation had large gatherings where spell-binders set forth the virtues and statesmanlike qualities of Clay as well as the principles upon which the suffrage of the people was asked.³⁴ At the Young Men's Whig National Convention of Ratification, held at Baltimore in 1844, it was reported that thirty-six Whigs from Illinois were in attendance.³⁵ If such was the case, it indicates the degree of enthusiasm that must have pervaded the ranks of the party, for a journey from Illinois to Baltimore in 1844 was laborious and expensive and to be undertaken only

³¹*Spirit of '76*, May 11, 1844; *Broadside* (Hardin); *Alton Telegraph*, December 30, 1843, January 6, 27, 1844.

³²*Nashville* (Tenn.) *Union*, 1843-4, *passim*.

³³*Spirit of '76*, April 25, 1844.

³⁴*Alton Telegraph*, December 30, 1843, August 31, 1844 (quoting from *Albany Argus*, *Newark Daily Advertiser*, *Cincinnati Gazette*, *New York Post*, *Plebeian Globe*, *Richmond Enquirer*, *Albany Journal*, *Baltimore American*, *Louisville Journal*, *Missouri Republican*, *Lexington Observer*, *Ohio State Journal*, and *Cincinnati Atlas*).

³⁵*Spirit of '76*, May 11, 1844.

under extraordinary circumstances. At a mass meeting held at Nashville, Tennessee, in August, 1844, Edward D. Baker, congressman-elect from Illinois, was one of the principal speakers.³⁶ Both these performances were repeated throughout the state on a smaller scale. Mass meetings were held at which Lincoln and others contrasted the known ability of Clay with that of his relatively unknown opponent, James K. Polk.³⁷

To set forth more effectively the issues upon which the Whigs wished to do battle, campaign sheets were issued from the offices of the principal Whig papers in the state;³⁸ and broadsides in which the Democratic party and its candidate were bitterly attacked were distributed among the people. These campaign sheets were well edited, usually by the leading politicians, and on the whole were more scurrilous than the regular newspapers. Intermingled with sound arguments and just accusations, one finds much that is untrue and apparently intended only to ridicule the opponents and to laugh them out of court if possible. Both parties issued such sheets, and the editors from whose offices they were issued welcomed them, because it relieved them of offending subscribers of opposite political faith by printing the more objectionable matter in their regular issues.

With the growth of the abolitionist spirit in Illinois came a corresponding spirit of opposition. The principles advocated by the abolitionists had never been popular in the state, and consequently each party attempted to make capital of the fact by claiming that the opposing candidate was an abolitionist or at least was friendly to the principles of that party.³⁹ Both Clay and Frelinghuysen, who had been nominated for vice-president on the Whig ticket, were charged with abolition tendencies, but denials were vehemently made by the Whig press.⁴⁰ In the case of the latter it was pointed out in the most emphatic terms that he was a slave owner; Clay on his part denied the

³⁶*Republican Banner*, August 26, 1844; *Alton Telegraph*, August 31, September 7, 1844; *State Register*, September 13, 1844.

³⁷*Alton Telegraph*, August 31, 1844, *passim*.

³⁸E.g. *Olive Branch*, issued from office of *Sangamo Journal*; *Sharp Stick*, published at Chillicothe, Ohio; *Spirit of '76*, from office of *Republican Banner* (Nashville, Tenn.).

³⁹*Spirit of '76*, May 11, 1844; *Hardin (Broadside)*; *State Register*, August 1, 1844.

⁴⁰*Spirit of '76*, May 25, September 14, 1844.

charge and there is little reason to believe that the candidacy of either was hurt by such charges.

Worn-out issues divided interest with new ones. The Democrats, called "Polkers"⁴¹ by the Whigs, kept up the old pretense that the Whigs held the principles of the old Federalists, and while such a charge must have had its effect upon some voters, it appears to have lost the potency it had possessed in previous campaigns. The Democrats came out openly against the distribution of the proceeds of the land sales among the states, while the Whigs favored such a scheme.⁴² Likewise the former party favored the annexation of Texas. The Whigs approached that question with considerable hesitation. In order to be regular the Whig press opposed annexation during the campaign, and afterwards poured out their wrath upon Tyler for favoring the scheme, but it would appear from an examination of the files of these papers that their opposition was half-hearted and halting.⁴³ Many men from Illinois had gone into the Texas country, and their reports stimulated those remaining at home to desire that that great empire be added to the United States. Something inherent in the western country made its citizens favor expansion, and blinded their eyes to abstract justice. In addition, the arguments made against the annexation of Texas by those opposed to the expansion of slavery failed to have their full effect upon the people of Illinois, and when it was hinted around that Great Britain had designs upon the Texas country, many regular Whigs broke with their party.

For the first time in Illinois politics the question of Native Americanism assumed alarming proportions. With the coming of large numbers of foreigners, especially from Germany and Ireland, politics took on a new tone and Americanism became an issue that would not down. Each party of course desired the support of the new emigrants, and in states like Illinois where citizenship was not a prerequisite for voting, the scramble for this support was the more evident.⁴⁴ Although the proportion of foreign vote given to either party can never be mathematically determined, there seems to be no doubt that the Democrats

⁴¹See any Illinois newspaper of the time, also G. Churchill to G. Flagg, December 3, 1844. (Flagg MSS.).

⁴²*Nashville Union*, June 6, 1844; *Alton Telegraph*, February 4, 1843.

⁴³See *Alton Telegraph*, October 19, 1844. See also Baker's reply to the question of annexation in *State Register*, July 12, 1844.

⁴⁴All white males twenty-one years of age and over were entitled to vote after a residence of six months. Constitution 1818, Art. II., par. 27.

received the lion's share of it.⁴⁵ Following what were called anti-foreign riots in Philadelphia in 1844, the Democratic press in Illinois made the charge that the rioters were Whigs, and that it was a determined policy on the part of the Whigs as a party to oppose any attempts by foreigners to take part in the government.⁴⁶ As was to be expected the Whig newspapers denied that the rioters were Whigs, and to prove their position quoted from letters purporting to have been written by prominent Philadelphians⁴⁷ in which the Democrats were said to be the rioters. In addition the counter charge was made that the rioters were Democrats, and that Democratic clubs in Philadelphia had adopted measures hostile to foreigners.

During the campaign the Whigs said little about the tariff. Apparently the leaders of that party were satisfied with the tariff act of 1842. Consequently they left offensive action to the Democrats, who appear to have done little with the issue.

In addition to what may be called paramount issues such as the foreign vote, tariff, banks, expansion of territory and abolition, there crept in and colored the campaign to a marked degree others of a more or less personal character. The Whig press charged that Polk had branded his slaves, had opposed paying pensions to Revolutionary soldiers, had favored the annexation of Texas or disunion, and that he was merely a stool pigeon for designing politicians within the Democratic ranks. The Democrats charged Clay with being a duelist, murderer, perjurer, gambler, Sabbath-breaker, and an all around scalawag, and that he held political principles similar to those held by the Hartford Conventionists; furthermore that he was opposed to equal rights, equal privileges, and equal laws.⁴⁸ Charges of an even more trivial nature were made by both sides. Polk's aristocratic tendencies were shown by the price paid for the chair he used while speaker of the National House of Representatives; Clay's private life was laid bare by his political enemies, and the people were called upon to vindicate "American manhood" by rejecting his candidature.

Both parties made strenuous efforts to carry the Congress-

⁴⁵Koerner, *Memoirs*, Vol. I., throws light on this subject.

⁴⁶*State Register*, August 16, 1844, *passim*.

⁴⁷*Alton Telegraph*, September 28, 1844.

⁴⁸*State Register*, August 23, 1844.

sional election in August.⁴⁹ It was considered that the result of that election would be a criterion of the presidential election to follow on the first Monday in November.⁵⁰ In some of the congressional districts the Whigs had no candidate, in others they had regular candidates. In the First district the contest was between Robert Smith of Madison and John Reynolds of St. Clair. The former seems to have been a Whig about 1836, while the latter had a leaning toward that party at opportune moments. Both, however, were avowed Democrats in 1844. In the Second district McClernand had no organized opposition. The only out and out Whig elected to Congress was Baker from the Seventh district, and his lead over his Democratic opponent was too slight for comfort. Ficklin, Wentworth, Douglas, and Hoge, all Democrats, were re-elected by substantial majorities. The election, while it was a great disappointment to the Whigs, was not in itself an exact criterion of the presidential election, because of coalitions in several districts, and the tremendous personal strength of such men as Douglas, Wentworth, and McClernand. The *Alton Telegraph* voiced the opinion of its party when in commenting on the election it declared that Illinois was the “*only state* which has not made some progress in bursting asunder the shackles of Locofocoism, and giving some evidence of returning sanity.”⁵¹

On the whole the presidential election of 1844 resembled very much the election held in the previous August; in both the Whigs were decisively beaten. Clay carried scarcely one-fourth of the counties, and in several of these his majority was small; in several of them the combined vote of the Democrats and Abolitionists exceeded his. The Clay counties may be grouped into five distinct geographical groups: Coles, Vermilion and Cumberland in the east central part; Madison and Jersey in the southwest; Sangamon and neighboring counties in the central part; Edwards and Wabash in the southeast; and a contiguous territory in the northwest extending from Warren and Knox on the south to the Wisconsin line on the north. Thus but three counties south of the mouth of the Illinois River supported Clay, and none within a radius of sixty miles from Chicago. The abolition vote had considerable effect upon the election, although it was not until four years later that it was

⁴⁹Congressional elections had been changed from odd numbered to even numbered years.

⁵⁰*State Register*, July 26, 1844.

⁵¹*Alton Telegraph*, August 17, 1844.

a deciding factor. In sixteen counties this vote was worth while. In some, either the one or the other of the old parties received a majority; in others, the successful party had to be content with a plurality. Between the August election and the November election the Whig strength increased something like twelve and one-half per cent., while the strength of the Democrats and Abolitionists each showed an increase of about five per cent. Apparently the Whigs drew from the Abolitionists, many of whom supported Clay because of his reputation as a statesman, or because they had formerly been Whigs. In those counties where the Abolitionists held the balance of power, the successful candidates for the General Assembly were usually elected by plurality vote.⁵²

Clay's defeat was a hard blow to his most zealous followers, for it seems to have been the consensus of opinion that never again would he be a candidate for the presidency. Although there was a feeling that an unknown candidate would have made a better race than had Clay, no one could deny that his services both at home and abroad merited recognition of the highest order. The reasons offered by the Whig press for Clay's defeat by an unheard-of candidate were well put by one editor: "The diversion made in favor of its old opponents by the partisans of the accidental executive, by a large portion of the abolition party and above all, by the foreign population, naturalized and unnaturalized—who, deceived by the grossest misrepresentations have been induced to rally almost to a man . . . has turned the scale in favor of the locofocos; and thus enabled them, once more, to riot on 'the spoils of victory.'"⁵³ Stung by defeat, the more ardent Whigs denounced the foreign vote cast for Polk, and declared that in spite of Clay's defeat, he had been supported by a majority of those in whose hands the Constitution intended to place the selection of presidents. The expressions of some were truly pathetic, even prophetic. They saw free trade, nullification, disunion, and the extension of slavery as the logical result of Polk's victory.⁵⁴ In their hearts they cursed Tyler as the evil spirit that had brought defeat, and in their despair took consolation in the belief that he of all public men in the country was hated the most.

⁵²See *MSS. Election Returns*, (Secretary of State's Office, Springfield, Illinois.)

⁵³*Alton Telegraph*, November 23, 1844.

⁵⁴*Alton Telegraph*, November 23, 30, 1844.

APPENDIX.

Under the first state Constitution, which was in force from 1818 to 1848, the election for members of the General Assembly was held on the first Monday of August in even numbered years; and the regular session of each General Assembly convened on the first Monday of December following each election. Senators were elected for four years and representatives for two years. The Ninth General Assembly (1834-36), was composed of 26 senators and 55 representatives; the Tenth (1836-38), the Eleventh (1838-40), and the Twelfth (1840-42), of 40 senators and 91 representatives; the Thirteenth (1842-44) and the Fourteenth (1844-46) of 41 senators and 121 representatives. Important variations from the apportionments are explained in the text, but there never was any variation from any of the apportionments "owing to a variation of population," as is sometimes stated.

It is hoped that the political affiliations noted below are correct, although, as will be noticed, there are a few cases in which some doubt is expressed. The authorities for making the determination of political affiliation are newspapers, political votes in the General Assembly, histories of Illinois, reminiscences, county histories, county archives, state archives, and personal letters and inquiries.

SENATE

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Allen, James.....	Whig		*	*			
Allen, John.....	Dem.		*		* ¹		
Allen, Willis.....	Dem.						*
Baker, Edward D.....	Whig				*	*	
Barnett, Robert.....	Dem.					*	
Blackwell, Robert.....	Whig			*			
Boal, Robert.....	Whig						*
Bond, Benjamin.....	Whig	*	*				
Borough, Joseph.....	Dem.		*	*			
Bostwick, Manoah.....	Dem.			* ²			
Browning, Orville H.....	Whig		*	*			

¹Died.

²Vice Turney.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Buford, John.....	Dem.					*	*
Butler, Peter.....	Whig		*	*			
Catlin, Seth.....	Dem.					*	*
Cavarly, Alfred W.....	Dem.					*	*
Churchill, George.....	Whig			*	*		
Constable, Charles H.....	Whig						*
Craig, Larkin.....	Dem.	*	*				
Crain, John.....	Dem.					*	*
Cullom, Richard N.....	Whig				*	*	
Davidson, William H.....	Whig	*	*	*	*	*	
Davis, Jacob C.....	Dem.					*	*
Dougherty, John.....	Dem.					*	*
Dunlap, Samuel.....	Whig						*
Edwards, Cyrus.....	Whig	*	*				
Edwards, Ninian W.....	Whig						*
English, Revill W.....	Dem.					* ³	
Evans, Aiken.....	Dem.				*	*	
Ewing, William Lee Davis.....	Dem.	* ⁴					
Feaman, Jacob.....	Dem.				*	*	
Fithian, William.....	Whig			*	*	*	*
Fletcher, Job.....	Whig	* ⁵	*	*			
Forman, Ferris.....	Dem.						*
Forquer, George.....	Dem.	* ⁶					
Gaston, William.....	Dem.			*	*		
Gatewood, William J..... ⁽⁷⁾		*	*	*	*		
Gibbs, Worthington J.....	Dem.			*	*		
Gillham, James.....	Dem.					* ⁸	
Greer, Abner.....	Whig			*			
Hackelton, Samuel.....	Dem.		*	* ⁹			
Hacker, John S.....	Dem.	*	*	*	*		

³Unseated.

⁴Resigned.

⁵Vice Taylor.

⁶Resigned.

⁷Gatewood was elected to the General Assembly in 1836 as a Whig, and during the first session voted with the Whigs. By the beginning of the second session, July 10, 1837, he was a Democrat. He continued in that political faith until his death. See *State Register*, August 4, 1837, June 8, October 12, 1838; Snyder, *Snyder*, p. 201.

⁸Unseated.

⁹Resigned.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Hamlin, John.....	Whig		*	*	*		
Harris, John.....	Dem.				*	*	*
Harrison, George W.....	Whig			*	*	*	*
Harrison, Reuben.....	Whig					* ¹⁰	
Henry, John.....	Whig				*	*	*
Herndon, Archer G.....	Dem.	* ¹¹	*	*	*		
Hoard, Samuel.....	Dem.					*	
Houston, John.....	Dem.				*	*	
Hunter, William.....	Dem.			*	*		
James, James A.....	Dem.				*	*	
Johnson, Benjamin.....	Whig					*	*
Johnson, Noah.....	Dem.			*	*		
Jones, Waller.....	Whig	* ¹²					
Judd, Norman B.....	Dem.						*
Kilpatrick, Thomas M.....	Whig				*	*	*
Lane, Levin.....	Dem.	*	* ¹³				
Leviston, George.....	Dem.					*	*
Little, Sidney H.....	Whig			*	*		
McGahey, David.....	Dem.	*					
McLaughlin, Robert K.....	Dem.		*				
McMillan, William.....	Dem.						*
McMurtry, William.....	Dem.					*	*
Markley, David.....	Dem.				* ¹⁴	* ¹⁵	*
Mather, Thomas.....	Whig	* ¹⁶					

¹⁰Unseated.

¹¹Vice Forquer. Herndon voted with the Whigs to endorse the candidacy of Hugh L. White for president. At that time and afterward he emphatically denied that he was anything but an orthodox Democrat. See *Sangamo Journal*, June 20, 28, August 22, 1835; July 9, 1836; *State Register*, October 12, November 2, 1838; *Niles' Register*, LIX., 57; *History of Sangamon County* (Interstate Pub. Co.), p. 273; Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, p. 6,

¹²Died.

¹³Lane voted with Whigs to endorse candidacy of Hugh L. White. He also lined up with the Whigs against the nominating convention system. See *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, pp. 76, 510. In 1837 Lane voted for Davidson (Whig) for speaker of the senate. He and Davidson were from adjoining counties, which may explain his defection in this case.

¹⁴Vice Hackelton.

¹⁵Resigned.

¹⁶Resigned.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Matteson, Joel A.....	Dem.					* ¹⁷	*
Maxwell, George W. P.....	Dem.	*	*				
Mills, Henry I.....	Whig	*	*	*			
Minard, Ira.....	Dem.					*	*
Mitchell, Benjamin.....	Dem.	*	*	*			
Monroe, Byrd.....	Whig			*	*		
Moore, James B.....	Whig		* ¹⁸	*			
Moore, John.....	Dem.				*		
Morrison, Joseph.....	Dem.						*
Murray, John.....	Whig		*	*			
Noel, Lunsford R.....	Dem.	*	*				
Nunnally, Nelson W.....	Dem.			*	*	*	*
O'Rear, William.....	Whig		*	*			
Owen, Thomas H.....	Dem.		*				
Parker, Nathaniel.....	Dem.		*			*	*
Parrish, Braxton.....	Dem.	* ¹⁹	*	*	*	*	
Pearson, John.....	Dem.				*	*	
Peck, Ebenezer.....	Dem.			* ²⁰			
Powers, George W.....	Whig						*
Pruyne, Peter.....	Dem.		*				
Ralston, James H.....	Dem.				*	* ²¹	
Rattan, Thomas.....	Dem.	*					
Reilly, John C.....	Dem.		*				
Richardson, William A.....	Dem.			*	*		
Ross, William.....	Whig		*	*	*		
Ruggles, Spooner.....	Whig					*	*
Ryan, Michael.....	Dem.					*	*
Sargeant, William L.....	Whig			* ²²	*		
Servant, Richard B.....	Whig	* ²³	*	*			
Slocum, Rigdon B.....	Dem.				*	*	
Smith, George.....	Whig					*	*
Smith, Jacob.....	Dem.						*
Snyder, Adam W.....	Dem.	*			*		

¹⁷Unseated, re-elected. Took seat on January 7, 1843.

¹⁸Vice John D. Whiteside.

¹⁹Vice Will.

²⁰Resigned.

²¹Resigned.

²²Vice Thomas.

²³Vice Mather.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Stadden, William	Dem.		*	*	*		
Stapp, Wyatt B.	Whig				*	*	
Stephenson, James W.	Dem.	* ²⁴					
Strode, James M.	Dem.	* ²⁵					
Taylor, Edmund D.	Dem.	* ²⁶					
Thomas, William	Whig	*	*	* ²⁷			
Thompson, W. W.	Dem.					*	*
Turney, James	Dem.		*	* ²⁸			
Vance, John W.	Whig	*	*				
Vandeventer, Jacob	Dem.					*	*
Warren, Peter	Dem.		*	*	*	*	*
Waters, George W.	Whig					*	*
Weatherford, William B.	Dem.	* ²⁹	*	*			
Webb, Edwin B.	Whig						*
Whiteside, James A.	Whig	* ³⁰	*				
Whiteside, John D.	Dem.		* ²¹				
Wight, A. G. S.	Whig		*				
Wilbanks, R. A. D.	Dem.					*	*
Will, Conrad	Dem.	* ³²					
Williams, Archibald	Whig	*					
Williamson, William	Dem.	*					
Witt, Franklin	Dem.			*	*		
Wood, John D.	Dem.		*	*	*		
Woodworth, James H.	Dem.			* ³³			
Worthington, Thomas	Whig					*	*
Wynne, J. R.	Dem.					*	*

²⁴Resigned.

²⁵*Vice* Stephenson.

²⁶Resigned.

²⁷Resigned.

²⁸Resigned.

²⁹*Vice* Jones.

³⁰Claimed by Whig papers as a Whig, by the Democratic papers as a Democrat. See *Sangamo Journal*, December 17, 1830; *State Register*, July 6, 1838, September 14, 1839. Whiteside voted with Whigs to endorse candidacy of Hugh L. White; voted with Democrats to condemn United States Bank. See *Senate Journal*, 1834-5, p. 76. Because he gave evidence of lining up with the Whigs at this time and later, Whiteside is here listed as a member of that party.

³¹Resigned.

³²Died.

³³*Vice* Peck.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Able, Wilson	Dem.	*	*	* ³⁴	*		
Adams, Darius	Whig					*	
Adams, E.	Dem.						*
Aldrich, Cyrus	Whig						*
Aldrich, Mark	Whig		*	*			
Aldrich, Robert	Whig					*	
Alexander, Harmon	Dem.			*			
Alexander, W.	Dem.						*
Allen, John	Dem.			*			
Allen, Willis	Dem.			*			
Ames, Alfred E.	Dem.					*	
Anderson, Samuel	Dem.						*
Anderson, Stinson H.	Dem.	* ³⁵					
Anderson, William G.	Dem.					*	*
Andrus, Leonard	Whig					*	
Archer, William B.	Whig			*	*		
Arenz, Francis	Whig						*
Armstrong, George W.	Dem.						*
Arnold, Isaac N.	Dem.					*	*
Atwater, Thomas	Dem.		*				
Babbitt, A. W.	Dem.						*
Backenstos, J. B.	Dem.						*
Bailey, William W.	Whig				*		
Bailhache, John	Whig					*	
Bainbridge, Allen	Dem.			*			
Baker, Edward D.	Whig		* ³⁶	*			
Baldwin, Daniel	Dem.				*		
Ball, Asel F.	Whig		*				
Barnett, George	Dem.		*				
Barnett, Robert	Dem.				*		
Barnsback, George	Whig						*
Bartlett, S. M.	Whig		* ³⁷				
Beall, James	Whig				*		
Bell, Robert	Dem.					*	
Benedict, Kirby	Dem.						*

³⁴Vice Webb.³⁵Resigned.³⁶Vice Stone.³⁷Vice Charles.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Bennett, John	Whig				*		
Bentley, Richard	Dem.		*		*		
Berry, Isaac S.	Dem.						*
Bibbens, Elisha	Dem.					*	
Bishop, Mahlon	Dem.					*	
Bissell, William H.	Dem.				*		
Blackford, Nathaniel	Dem.	* ³⁸			*		
Blackman, David J.	Dem.				*		
Blackwell, Robert	Whig	*					
Blair, William	Dem.					*	*
Blakeman, Curtis	Whig					*	
Blockberger, C. B.	Dem.	*					
Bone, Elisha	Whig					*	
Bowman, Joseph G.	Whig			* ³⁹			
Bowyer, George P.	Dem.	*					
Boyakin, H. P.	Dem.						*
Bradford, James M.	Whig				*		
Bradley, Richard A.	Dem.					*	*
Brinkley, William	Dem.					*	*
Brown, Benjamin D.	Whig					*	
Brown, James N.	Whig				*	*	
Brown, John	Dem.			*			*
Brown, John J.	Whig				*		
Brown, William	Whig	*					
Browning, Orville H.	Whig					*	
Bryant, John H.	Dem.					*	
Buckmaster, Nathaniel	Dem.	* ⁴⁰					
Burklow, John D.	Dem.					*	
Burnett, John M.	Dem.						*
Busey, Matthew W.	Dem.				*	*	
Butler, H.	Dem.						*
Butler, Peter	Dem.	*					
Caldwell, William	Whig					*	
Calhoun, John	Dem.			* ⁴¹			
Campbell, Joseph	Dem.						*
Canady, John	Whig				*	*	

³⁸*Vice* McHenry.³⁹*Vice* Smith.⁴⁰*Vice* Thomas.⁴¹Resigned.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Carpenter, Milton	Dem.	*	*	*	*		
Carpenter, William	Dem.	*					
Cavarly, Alfred W.	Dem.				*		
Charles, Elijah	Whig		* ⁴²				
Charles, John F.	Whig				*		
Churchill, George	Whig						*
Churchill, Joseph W.	Dem.			*			
Clark, Benjamin A.	Dem.	* ⁴³					
Cloud, Newton	Dem.	*	*	*		*	
Cochran, John	Dem.					*	*
Collins, Addison	Dem.					*	*
Comphor, William	Dem.			*			
Compton, John	Dem.					*	
Connelly, Samuel	Dem.		* ⁴⁴				
Copeland, James	Dem.		* ⁴⁵	* ⁴⁶			
Courtwright, Isaac	Dem.		*		*	*	
Cox, David	Dem.						*
Cox, Jeremiah	Whig				*		
Craig, Basil B.	Dem.	* ⁴⁷					
Craig, James	Whig		*	*			
Crain, John	Dem.		*	*	*		
Cullom, Richard N.	Whig		*				
Cunningham, James T.	Whig	*	* ⁴⁸	*	*		
Cushman, W. H. W.	Dem.					*	*
Daley, Edward M.	Dem.			*			
Danner, Jacob J.	Dem.					*	
Darnielle, John	Whig				*		
Davidson, William	Dem.		*				
Davis, Cyrus A.	Dem.		*				
Davis, David	Whig						*
Davis, James M.	Whig					*	
Davis, John T.	Dem.					*	*
Dawson, John	Whig	*	*	*			

⁴²Resigned.

⁴³Died.

⁴⁴*Vice* French.

⁴⁵*Vice* Enloe.

⁴⁶Died.

⁴⁷*Vice* Dougherty.

⁴⁸*Vice* Linder.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Dement, John	Dem.		* ⁴⁹				
Denning, William A.	Dem.						*
Dennis, Elias S.	Dem.					*	
Denny, John	Whig				*		
Deskines, John	Dem.						*
Diarmon, Jonathan	Dem.		*				
Dickinson, Andrew J.	Dem.					*	
Dodge, Abram B.	Dem.				*		
Dollins, Achilles D.	Dem.		*		*	*	
Dougherty, John	Dem.	* ⁵⁰	*		*		
Dougherty, Willis	Dem.					*	
Douglas, John	Dem.					*	
Douglas, Stephen A.	Dem.		* ⁵¹				
Drummond, Thomas	Whig				*		
Dubois, Jesse K.	Whig	*	*	*		*	
Dunbar, Alexander P.	Whig		*				*
Dunlap, Samuel	Dem.				*		
Dunn, Charles	Dem.	*					
Dunn, Tarlton	Whig		* ⁵²	*			
Edmonston, William	Dem.		*	*			
Edwards, Cyrus	Whig				*		
Edwards, Lorenzo	Whig					*	
Edwards, Ninian W.	Whig		*	*			
Elkin, William F.	Whig		*	*			
Elliott, Asa	Whig	*		*			
Emmerson, Allen	Whig			*	*		
Emmerson, R.	Whig						*
English, Revill W.	Dem.		*	*	*		
Enloe, Benjamin S.	Dem.		* ⁵³				
Epler, David	Dem.					*	
Erwin, Hugh	Whig					*	
Ewing, Charles F.	Whig					*	
Ewing, William Lee Davis ..	Dem.		* ⁵⁴	*	*		

⁴⁹Resigned.

⁵⁰Resigned.

⁵¹Resigned.

⁵²Vice McClernand.

⁵³Resigned.

⁵⁴Vice Dement.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Ficklin, Orlando B.....	(⁵⁵)	* ⁵⁶		*		*	
Fisk, Josiah	Dem.			*			
Fithian, William	Whig	*					
Flanders, Abner	Dem.					*	
Fletcher, Job	Whig						*
Flood, William G.....	Dem.			* ⁵⁷			
Foster, Hardy	Dem.			*			
Fowler, Joseph	Dem.					*	
Francis, Josiah	Whig				*		
Frazier, Elijah S.....	Dem.	*					
French, Augustus C.....	Dem.		* ⁵⁸	* ⁵⁹			
Froman, Isaac	Whig				*		
Funk, Isaac	Whig				*		
Funkhouser, Presley	Dem.						*
Galbraith, George	Dem.		* ⁵⁹				
Garrett, Peter B.....	Whig					*	
Gillespie, Joseph	Whig				*		
Gillham, William	Whig			*			
Glass, Robert W.....	Whig					*	
Gobble, Sergeant	Dem.					*	
Gordon, William	Whig	*					
Gouge, Jesse W.....	Dem.			* ⁶⁰			

⁵⁵During the early years of the Whig party, Ficklin was one of its ablest and most active members. He disagreed, however, with his colleagues on the Bank question. In 1835 he was editor of a Whig newspaper at Mt. Carmel. See *Illinois Advocate*, January 13, 1836. In 1838 the *State Register* claimed him as a Democrat on the following ground: "We have placed Ficklin in Democratic list because of his hostility to Clay and support of sub-treasury system." Two weeks later (October 26) Ficklin stated his political position as follows: "I have uniformly advocated a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States, as understood by the *State Right's party*, and the curtailment of Executive patronage within the narrowest possible limits. . . . I am supporter of the Sub-Treasury bill . . . am opposed to the election of Mr. Clay in the ensuing contest for the Presidency. I do not expect to support him in any event."

⁵⁶Resigned.

⁵⁷Resigned.

⁵⁸Resigned.

⁵⁹Died.

⁶⁰*Vice* Reddick. Reddick died before session convened. Strictly speaking Reddick was not a member of the 11th General Assembly.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Graham, Resolve	(⁶¹)		* ⁶²				
Graves, Hubbard	Whig					*	
Green, John	Dem.		* ⁶³	*		*	
Green, Joseph	(⁶⁴)		*				
Green, Peter	Dem.		*	*	*	*	
Gregg, David L.	Dem.					*	*
Gregory, Charles	Whig	*					
Gridley, Asahel	Whig				*		
Hackelton, Samuel	Dem.	*				*	
Haley, Maximilian	Whig					*	*
Hambaugh, Stephen D.	Dem.					*	
Hamlin, John	Whig	* ⁶⁵					
Hampton, James	Dem.	*					
Hankins, William J.	Dem.		*	*	*		
Hannaford, Levi A.	Dem.					*	*
Hanson, George M.	Whig					*	*
Happy, William W.	Dem.		*	*			
Hardie, H.	Whig						*
Hardin, John J.	Whig		*	*	*		
Harlan, Moses	Whig			* ⁶⁶			
Harper, Joshua	Whig					*	*
Harreld, James	Dem.	*					
Harriott, James	Whig						*
Harris, John	Dem.	*	*	*			
Hatch, Jeduthan	Dem.					*	
Henderson, William H.	Whig			*	*		*
Hendry, William	Dem.						*
Henry, John	Whig	*		*			
Henshaw, George	Dem.		*				

⁶¹Politics uncertain. His colleagues from same county were Whigs, and his successor, who was elected at special election after Graham's death, was Whig.

⁶²Died.

⁶³*Vice* Lane. Green died during the next session.

⁶⁴Green was considered to be a Whig by many of his colleagues in the General Assembly. See *State Register*, January 4, 1840. He voted in 1836, however, with Democrats in support of Jackson's administration.

⁶⁵Resigned.

⁶⁶*Vice* Comphers. From available information it is not known whether Comphers died or resigned. Hence no note after his name.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Herdon, William H.....	Whig						*
Hick, Thomas S.....	Dem.					*	*
Hickman, William.....	Whig					*	
Hicks, Stephen G.....	Dem.				*	*	*
Hinton, Alfred	Dem.					*	
Hitt, Samuel M.....	Whig						*
Hogan, John	Whig		*				
Holmes, William	Whig			*			
Horney, Samuel	Dem.					*	
Houston, John	Dem.			*			
Howard, Jonathan B.....	Dem.					*	
Huffman, Samuel	Whig						*
Hughes, John D.....	Dem.	*					
Hughey, Joseph	Dem.		*	*			
Hull, Alden	Whig			*	*		
Humphrey, John G.....	Dem.				*		
Hunsacker, James J.....	Dem.					*	
Hunt, Thomas	Whig	*	*				
Hunter, William	Dem.	*					
Jackson, Aaron C.....	Whig					*	
Jackson, B. M.....	Dem.						*
Jackson, William M.....	Dem.					*	*
Janney, Eldridge S.....	Dem.						*
Jarrot, Vital	Whig			*			
Jewell, E. G.	Dem.						*
Johnson, Benjamin	Whig			*			
Jonas, Abraham	Whig					*	
Jones, Gabriel	Whig			*			
Kelly, John M.....	Dem.				*		
Kendall, Samuel T.....	Whig					*	
Kent, Germanicus	Whig			*			
Kercheval, Gholson	Dem.			*			
Kerr, Richard	Dem.			* ⁶⁷			
Kirkpatrick, John	Dem.						*

⁶⁷Kerr had removed to Iowa after the regular session of 1838-9. Evidently his constituents considered that he had removed from the state, for they elected Love to fill out his unexpired term. Kerr took the opposite view. He appeared before the house and convinced that body that he was still a citizen of Illinois and hence entitled to his place, whereupon Kerr was seated and Love's claim was rejected.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Kitchell, Wickliffe	Dem.				*		
Koerner, Gustav	Dem.					*	
Kuykendall, Andrew J.	Dem.					*	*
Lagow, Wilson	Dem.		*				
Lane, William	Dem.		* ⁶⁸				
Langworthy, Cyrus	Whig					*	
Laughlin, William	Dem.				*		
Lawler, John S.	Dem.					*	
Leary, Albert G.	Dem.		*		*		
Leighton, James	Whig						*
Lester, Harvey	Dem.				*		
Lincoln, Abraham	Whig	*	*	*	*		
Linder, Usher F.	(⁶⁹)			* ⁷⁰			
Link, Lewis W.	Dem.	* ⁷¹					
Lockard, James	Whig					*	*
Logan, John	Dem.		*	*	*		
Logan, Stephen T.	Whig					*	*
Loop, James L.	Dem.						*
Lott, Peter	Dem.						*
Love, Oscar	Dem.				* ⁷²		
Loy, Thomas M.	Dem.					*	
Lyons, James H.	Whig		*	*			
McBride, William	Dem.					*	
McClernand, John A.	Dem.		* ⁷³		*	*	
McClurken, James	Dem.				*		
McCormick, Andrew	Whig		*	*			
McCown, John	Dem.		*				
McCutchen, Jesse M.	Whig			*			
McDonald, John	Dem.				*	*	*
McDonald, John	Dem.					*	

⁶⁸Resigned.

⁶⁹Linder was Democrat until about 1839. See Linder, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, 228, 281. In 1842, he was Whig candidate for General Assembly and in 1844 a Whig candidate for presidential elector. He supported Douglas in 1858 and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860.

⁷⁰Resigned.

⁷¹Resigned.

⁷²See note on Kerr.

⁷³Resigned.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
McGahey, James D.....	Dem.	* ⁷⁴					
McGinnis, John P.....	Dem.				*		
McHenry, William	Dem.	* ⁷⁵					
McLean, James M.....	Whig				*		
McMillan, Andrew	Dem.					*	
McMillan, Robert	Whig			*			
McMurtry, William.....	Dem.		*				
McWilliams, James	Dem.			*			
Madden, Henry	Dem.		*			*	
Manley, Uri	Dem.	*					
Manning, Julius	Dem.					*	*
Marrs, William B.....	Dem.		*				
Marshall, James	Dem.				*	*	
Marshall, Samuel D.....	Whig			*			
Matthews, Samuel T.....	Whig						*
Maus, William S.....	Dem.			*			
Menard, Edmund	Whig			*			
Menard, Pierre	Whig				*	*	
Metz, Benjamin B.....	Whig						*
Miller, Anson S.....	Whig						*
Miller, Harvey L.....	Dem.				*	*	*
Miller, William	Dem.						*
Minor, Gideon	Dem.		*				
Minshall, William A.....	Whig		*		*		
Mitchell, Edward	Whig					*	
Moore, Daniel P.....	Dem.				*		
Moore, John	Dem.		*	*			
Moore, William	Whig	*	*				
Moore, William J.....	Whig						*
Morgan, Edward T.....	Dem.			*			
Morrille, Jacob C.....	Dem.						*
Morris, R. G.	Dem.						*
Morrison, J. L. D.....	Whig						*
Morton, Joseph	Dem.		*				
Munsell, Leander	Whig				*		
Murphy, John H.....	Whig		*	*			
Murphy, Richard	Dem.			*	*	*	
Murphy, Richard G.....	Dem.	*	*	*	*		
Myers, Elias B.....	Whig						*

⁷⁴Died.⁷⁵Died.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Nance, Thomas J.....	Dem.			* ⁷⁶			
Naper, Joseph	Dem.		*	*			
Nesbitt, Samuel G.....	Dem.					*	
Norris, James	Dem.					*	
Nowlan, David	Dem.			* ⁷⁷			
Nunnally, Nelson W.....	Dem.	*					
Nye, Iram	Dem.						*
O'Connor, Ambrose	Dem.						*
O'Neill, Edward J.....	Whig		*				
Odam, Dempsey	Dem.		* *		*		
Oglesby, John M.....	Dem.						*
Olds, Francis A.....	Dem.				*		
Oliver, John	Dem.	*			*		
Ormsbee, Joseph W.....	Dem.				*		
Otwell, William	Whig			*			
Outhouse, James	Dem.	*					
Owen, Thomas H.....	Dem.	*				*	
Pace, Harvey T.....	Dem.	* ⁷⁸	*	*			
Parkinson, James	Whig				*		
Parrish, Braxton	Dem.						*
Parsons, Solomon	Dem.				*		
Paullen, Parvin	Dem.		*				
Peck, Ebenezer	Dem.				*		
Penn, Philip	Dem.					*	
Phelps, William J.	Whig				*		
Phillips, Alexander	Whig			*	*		
Pickering, William	Whig					*	*
Pitner, Franklin R.....	Dem.						*
Porter, David	Dem.	* ⁷⁹					
Pratt, John W.....	Whig					*	*
Prentice, Owen	Dem.				*		
Prevo, Samuel	Dem.						*
Ralston, James H.....	Dem.		*				*
Randolph, William H.....	Whig						*
Rawalt, Jonas	Whig		*	*			
Rawlings, Isaac D.....	Whig						*
Read, John W.....	Whig			*			

⁷⁶Vice Calhoun.⁷⁷Died.⁷⁸Vice Anderson.⁷⁹Vice McGahey.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Reddick, William G.....	Dem.		*	* ⁸⁰			
Reed, J. H.....	Dem.						*
Reynolds, James	Whig				*		
Richardson, William A.....	Dem.		*				*
Ricks, William S.....	Dem.						*
Robbins, E. W.....	Dem.						*
Roberts, Louis,	Whig			*			
Robinson, Jeffrey	Dem.			* ⁸¹			
Roman, William W.....	Dem.			*			
Ross, Lewis W.....	Dem.				*		*
Ross, William	Whig	*					
Rowan, Stephen R.....	Dem.	* ⁸²					
Scarborough, George	Dem.		*				
Scott, James K.....	Dem.					*	*
Scott, John	Dem.				*		
Scott, John	Dem.						*
Semple, James	Dem.	*	*				
Sexton, Orville	Dem.						*
Sharp, Joseph L.....	Dem.					*	*
Shepley, Oliver	Dem.				*		
Sherman, Francis C.....	Dem.						*
Shields, James	Dem.		*				
Shirley, John	Dem.					*	
Simms, Hall	Dem.			* ⁸³		*	
Smith, Benjamin L.....	Dem.						*
Smith, Edward	Dem.	* ⁸⁴	*	* ⁸⁵			
Smith, George	Whig			*			
Smith, Guy W.....	Whig					*	
Smith, Henry	Whig						*
Smith, Joseph	Whig						*
Smith, Robert	Dem.		*	*			
Smith, William	Dem.					*	
Spicer, Reuben H.....	Dem.					*	
Stapp, Wyatt B.....	Whig			*			

⁸⁰See note on Gouge.⁸¹Resigned.⁸²Resigned.⁸³Vice French.⁸⁴Vice Ficklin.⁸⁵Died.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Starkweather, Elisha H.....	(⁸⁶)						*
Starne, Alexander	Dem.					*	*
Starr, Richard W.....	Whig			* ⁸⁷		*	
Steele, John	Dem.						*
Stewart, Hart L.....	Dem.					*	*
Stewart, Robert	Whig		*				
Stockton, William S.....	Whig					*	
Stone, Daniel	Whig				* ⁸⁸		
Strong, N. D.....	Whig						*
Stuart, John T.....	Whig	*					
Stuntz, John	Dem.		*				
Summerville, John A.....	Dem.		* ⁸⁹				
Tackerberry, Middleton	Dem.					*	
Thomas, Cheney	Whig			*			
Thomas, Jesse B., Jr.....	Dem.	* ⁹⁰					
Thomas, John	Dem.			*			
Thompson, Amos	Dem.					*	*
Thompson, John	Dem.	* ⁹¹					
Thompson, Samuel G.....	(⁹²)		*				
Thornton, Hiram W.....	Whig				*		
Thornton, William F.....	Whig				* ⁹³		
Threlkeld, Thomas	Whig				*		
Trower, Thomas B.....	Dem.	*					
Troy, Daniel	Whig				*		
Trumbull, Lyman	Dem.				*		
Tunnel, Calvin	Dem.	*					*
Turley, John S.....	Dem.		*				*
Turner, Horace	Dem.					*	
Turney, Daniel.....	Dem.		*		* ⁹⁴	*	
Turney, James.....	Dem.	* ⁹⁵					

⁸⁶See ante p. 105 n.

⁸⁷*Vice* Flood.

⁸⁸Resigned.

⁸⁹*Vice* Nowlan.

⁹⁰Resigned.

⁹¹Died.

⁹²Claimed by Democratic press as a Democrat. See *State Register*, January 4, 1800. Voted with Whigs in 1836, however, to condemn Jackson's administration.

⁹³Resigned.

⁹⁴*Vice* Robinson.

⁹⁵*Vice* Link.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Vance, P. C.....	Dem.					*	
Vandeveer, Horatio M.....	Dem.					*	
Vandeventer, Jacob	Dem.	*					
Vedder, F. P.....	Dem.						*
Vineyard, Philip	Dem.					*	*
Voris, Francis	Whig		*				
Wagner, Jacob	Dem.						*
Walker, Isaac P.....	Dem.			*			
Walker, James	Dem.		*				
Walker, Newton	Whig			*			
Walker, Richard S.....	Dem.		*				
Warren, J. M.....	Dem.						*
Waters, George W.....	Whig				*		
Watkins, Joseph E.....	Whig		* ⁹⁶				
Weatherford, William B.....	Dem.					*	
Webb, Edwin B.....	Whig	*	*	*	*		
Webb, Henry L.....	Dem.			* ⁹⁷			
West, Amos S.....	Whig				*		
West, Edward	Whig					*	
Wheat, Almeron	Dem.					*	
Wheeler, Alpheus	Dem.		*		*		
Whitcomb, Lot	Dem.					*	
White, James	Whig						*
White, John	Dem.					*	*
White, John	Whig						*
White, Martin	Dem.				*		
Whiteside, John D.....	Dem.	*					*
Whitten, Easton	Dem.		*			*	
Wilcox, Charles C.....	Whig						*
Wilkinson, Winfield S.....	Dem.						*
Williams, Archibald.....	Whig		* ⁹⁵	*			
Williams, Isaac	Whig						*
Williamson, William.....	Dem.			* ⁹⁹			
Wilson, Robert L.....	Whig		*				
Wilson, William	Dem.			*	*		
Witt, Franklin	Dem.		*				

⁹⁶Vice Graham.

⁹⁷Resigned.

⁹⁸Vice Galbreath.

⁹⁹Vice Thornton.

Name	Politics	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
Wood, Daniel.....	Dem.	* ¹⁰⁰	*	*	*		
Wood, John T.....	Dem.						*
Woodburn, William	Dem.						*
Woodson, David M.....	Whig				*		
Woodworth, James H.....	Dem.					*	
Woolard, James B.....	Dem.						*
Wren, Johnson	Dem.	*					
Wyatt, John.....	Dem.	*	* ¹⁰¹				
Yates, Richard.....	Whig					*	*
Youngkin, John F.....	Whig						*
Zeiber, John S.....	Dem.						*
Zimmerman, Jacob	Dem.				*		

¹⁰⁰*Vice* Rowan.

¹⁰¹*Vice* Douglas.

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MANUSCRIPT.

Eddy MSS. The complete collection comprises some 5,000 items. Of this number a little less than 1,000 are letters of a political nature. For the period 1820-1848, these letters throw considerable light on the political workings of the state. The collection includes letters to and from Henry Eddy, Governors Bond, Edwards, and Duncan, Judges Smith, Pope, Browne and Breese, Senators McLean, Robinson and McRoberts, and a long list of other notables. The original manuscript is in the possession of Mr. Charles Carroll, Shawneetown, Illinois. Copies may be found in the Library of the University of Illinois and in the State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

Flagg MSS. This is a valuable collection. It throws light on the history of the state in many places. The original manuscript is in the possession of Norman C. Flagg, Moro, Illinois. Copies may be found in the Library of the University of Illinois.

Williams-Woodbury MSS. The material in this collection relates principally to Danville, Illinois, and surrounding country. There are, however, several valuable letters in the collection, particularly those from William Kinkade. The original manuscript is in the possession of Mr. A. G. Woodbury, Danville, Illinois.

MSS. Election Returns, Secretary of State's office, Springfield, Illinois. Heretofore too much dependence has been placed upon election statistics copied from contemporary accounts and newspapers. Transcripts of statistics relating to the most important election have been made and are to be found in the Library of the University of Illinois.

MSS. Election Returns (County Court Houses). Election schedules of the following counties have been examined and used in this work: Coles, Sangamon, Edgar, Clark, Crawford, Lawrence, Gallatin, Edwards, Macoupin, Wayne, Fayette and Tazewell. In a few cases only are the original schedules intact. Those found in Sangamon, Fayette, Coles and Macoupin are the most important.

Miscellaneous *MSS.* (County Court Houses.) Court Records, etc.

NEWSPAPERS.

This study has necessarily depended in large part upon contemporary Illinois newspapers, which fall into two groups corresponding roughly to periods of time. For the twenties, the *Edwardsville Spectator* and the *Illinois Intelligencer* have furnished the greater amount of information; while the *Alton Telegraph*, *Sangamo Journal*, *State Register*, *Chicago Democrat*, and *Chicago American* have been used very extensively for the thirties and forties. Scattering issues of a number of less important papers have been examined whenever the opportunity offered itself.

No attempt has been made in this bibliography to give a complete history of the newspapers consulted. Change of name or location has been indicated only when the omission of such information might confuse and mislead the reader. The dates given immediately after the place of publication, indicate the extreme limits in which that particular newspaper has been used in the preparation of this study. The newspaper file referred to in the case of the more important papers, is believed to be the most complete. For further information about Illinois newspapers for the period covered in this study, the reader is referred to *Scott's Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*.

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Alton Spectator, Alton. 1832-6. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Alton Telegraph, Alton. 1836-1845. The *Telegraph* was a strong Whig paper. Of its editors the ablest were John Bailhache and George T. M. Davis. The former was a strong anti-slavery man but in common with his political brethren he was willing to allow the subject to be kept in the background. Davis was one of the state's leading lawyers, a fluent writer, and prominent in both state and national politics. In many respects the *Telegraph* was the best edited paper in the state during the late thirties and earlier forties. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Chicago American, Chicago. 1836-42. The *American* was Whig in politics and kept up a continual editorial warfare with the *Chicago Democrat*. Of its editors the best known politically were T. O. Davis and Buckner S. Morris. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Chicago Express, Chicago. 1842-4. Whig in politics. Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Chicago Democrat, Chicago. 1833-45. Democratic in politics. Edited by John Calhoun, later by "Long" John Wentworth. The latter was representative in Congress from 1843 to 1851. The *Democrat* was the leading journal of the northern part of the state. When the Kansas-Nebraska agitation set in Wentworth opposed Douglas and later aided in organizing the Republican party. The paper became Republican. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Cincinnati American, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1830. Whig in politics and well edited. University of Illinois Library.

Crisis, Edwardsville. 1830. Supported the Reynolds Administration. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Expositor, Nauvoo. There was but one issue of this paper, June 7, 1844. As its name implies it was established for the purpose of exposing certain things. It openly denounced Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, with the result that its press was thrown into the river and its owners and editor compelled to flee from the city. Illinois State Historical Library.

Galena Advertiser, Galena. 1830. Established by Hooper Warren and supported by the Edwards party. Chicago Historical Society Library.

Illinois Advocate, Vandalia. 1835-6. Edited by John York Sawyer. (See State Register.)

Illinois Gazette, Shawneetown. 1822. The *Gazette* had three very able editors, Henry Eddy, James Hall, Alex. P. Field. It was one of the five papers taking part in the slavery contest of 1822-4, and its attitude during this time is a matter of dispute. Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo.

Illinois Intelligencer, 1820-32. Originally established at Kaskaskia. Among its editors were Elijah C. Berry, William H. Brown, and Robert Blackwell. It took part in the slavery struggle of 1822-4, at first as pro-slavery, later as anti-slavery. Because of its location at the state capital and the intimacy of its editors with the state administration, the *Intelligencer* is the best newspaper source for the twenties. Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo.

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